

For Reference

NOT TO BE TAKEN FROM THIS ROOM

Ex libris
UNIVERSITATIS
ALBERTAENSIS





Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2024 with funding from
University of Alberta Library

<https://archive.org/details/Ume1977>

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR . . . Theo Azuka Ume
TITLE OF THESIS . . . Centralization of University Coordination in
Nigeria: Environmental Analysis
DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED . Doctor of Philosophy
YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED 1977

Permission is hereby granted to the UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA LIBRARY to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

CENTRALIZATION OF UNIVERSITY COORDINATION IN NIGERIA:
ENVIRONMENTAL ANALYSIS

by



THEO AZUKA UME

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN
PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING, 1977

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled Centralization of the University Coordination in Nigeria: Environmental Analysis, submitted by Theo Azuka Ume in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

ABSTRACT

The main thrust of this study was to examine factors which influenced the centralized coordination policy of university education in Nigeria, and the probable effect of the policy in future university governance.

Thus, it can be observed that this study has two aspects to it. One aspect deals with a careful study of the principal problems and practices involved in the operation of university education in Nigeria up until 1975, and the second aspect focuses on the anticipated effect of the policy on future university administration in the country.

The research was conducted through the use of three coordinated data gathering techniques. Documentary data were obtained through a number of different sources including libraries, personal files, unpublished reports and papers, and correspondence. Interviews with key personnel associated with university education and manpower training in Nigeria were conducted to get personal views; these were augmented by the use of questionnaires. The data were organized and analyzed by references to a conceptual framework developed from the literature on systems theory and coordination. Data analysis also included inferential statistics, such as frequencies and percentage distributions to analyze group responses on each item of the questionnaire, an analysis of variance to determine differences in mean scores, Scheffe multiple comparison of means test to determine sufficient differences between the groups' responses on each problem

statement and t-test to calculate significant differences between mean scores.

An examination of historical factors related to the development of university education in Nigeria revealed that the country's six universities do not represent a national response to the nation's manpower and social needs. A national perspective on the part of decision-makers was generally lacking and parochial interests--particularly tribalism and regionalism--led to a system of higher education in which duplication of facilities and under-enrolment resulted in excessive costs for the little manpower produced. This wastage was demonstrated by comparing Nigerian enrolments in various departments with what outside experts have computed to be minimum viable enrolment levels.

The efforts to promote national manpower planning and national coordination of higher educational institutions were examined and found insufficient and inefficient. Further investigation of the obstacles to the successful functioning of central agencies, such as the National Manpower Board and the National Universities Commission, showed that not only the belated appearance of such bodies, but also the continued pressures of parochial interest hindered the realization of rational policies.

The basic problem in public policy-making is the lack of national unity. The rivalry and suspicion between tribes and states has caused decision-makers to act on the basis of particular interests, and the federal structure of government allowed the emergence of Regional,

rather than national approaches to projects and policies vital to national development.

On the expected effects of the New Policy, while the policy decision was generally welcomed by most interviewees a cautious optimism was expressed about the anticipated effect in view of the strong regional interest of the policy-makers.

In the light of doubts expressed the study made a number of broad recommendations to further strengthen the policy objectives. The chief suggestion of far reaching importance arising from the study was the establishment of a 'National Universities Fund' to be at the disposal of a National Coordinating Agency into which all federal, state, communities, individual and other agencies' sub-ventions should be placed. The study finally called for a study on cost-benefit (rate of return) in Nigerian university education.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

At the conclusion of a dissertation and the end of a graduate career, one owes a lot of gratitude to so many people. It is doubtful whether the study would have been successfully completed without the help and sacrifice on the part of the interviewees. For this purpose my deep appreciation goes to officials of Nigerian Universities, Federal and State Ministries of Education, National Universities Commission, National Manpower Board and the Federal Office of Statistics for providing the bulk of the data. I also acknowledge the assistance of the sixty faculty members drawn from across Nigerian Universities. These men and women gave me their fullest cooperation. While I am still on data source, I wish to record my gratitude to my friend Ralph O. Nwabueze of the University of Nigeria Nsukka, who, in addition to his initial encouragement, during the period I was in Nigeria to collect data, constantly scouted around offices in the University of Nigeria for data that were considered useful for this study.

On the academic side, my primary debts are to Professors J.M. Small, D.S. Gill, E. Hodgson, D.M. Richards and J.J. Richter, members of my thesis committee. I would like specially to acknowledge the immense services of my thesis Chairman, Dr. J.M. Small. Dr. Small devoted an enormous amount of time to counselling, questioning and encouraging me, and to the development of this study. His viewpoints

never ceased to provoke me to develop and clarify my thoughts and his influence is apparent on every page of this study. Although, of course, he bears no responsibility for its flaws, he certainly deserves a good deal of the credit for whatever virtues it may have.

The financial support of the faculty of Graduate Studies and Research at the University of Alberta, Dr. Erwin Miklos and Imo State Ministry of Education is gratefully acknowledged.

I sincerely acknowledge the encouragements of my brother, Dr. F.E.O. Ume, whose pioneering work in doctoral research from the family immensely inspired me.

Foremost, I wish to record my gratitude to my wife, Esther Ume, who combined so impressively her responsibility to me and our three children (Obinna, Ikecukwu and Iruka) with her own university studies at the University of Alberta.

Finally, I dedicate this thesis to my father Mazi Ukoha Ume who slept in the Lord during the preparation of this thesis; my brother Augustine, Peter and their lovely families. These very dear people's lives and struggles, and their love for me have shaped my life and profoundly influenced my thinking as well as the direction and nature of my concerns and personal convictions.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
1. INTRODUCTION	1
I THE CONTEXT	4
II THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY	9
III LIMITATION AND DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY	10
IV THE VALUE OF THE STUDY	11
V USE OF TERMS	15
VI ORGANIZATION OF CHAPTERS	18
2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE	20
I BASIC CONCEPTS	20
Introduction	20
The Policy Science	22
Aspects of Public Policy	24
II ANALYTICAL MODELS	25
Actor Oriented Models	25
Typology Models	31
Systems Analytical Models	35
Environmental Approach	45
III CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	50
3. THE DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH . .	54
Introduction	54
I DOCUMENTARY DATA	55
II INTERVIEW DATA	57
Stratification and Selection of Interviewees	57
Conduct of the Interview	58

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

CHAPTER	PAGE
III QUESTIONNAIRE DATA	61
Development of the Questionnaire	61
Questionnaire Administration	63
IV SUMMARY	67
4. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF NIGERIAN EDUCATION . .	68
Introduction	68
I EARLY DEVELOPMENTS	68
The Coming of Western Education	68
Development of Government Interest in Education	70
II HIGHER EDUCATION DURING THE COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION (1800-1949)	74
Historical Development	74
III PRE-INDEPENDENCE DECADE (1950-1960)	79
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) Mission	80
IV THE CONCEPT OF FEDERALISM	87
Introduction	87
Federalism: Origin and Significance	89
V THE GROWTH OF FEDERAL SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT IN NIGERIA	92
VI CONTEMPORARY ERA	97
Ashby Report	98
VII SUMMARY	110

TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued)

CHAPTER		PAGE
5.	POLICY ENVIRONMENT; SOCIAL, CULTURAL, POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS RELATION- SHIPS	113
	Introduction	113
I	TRIBE, THE PARTY AND THE REGIONS	114
	Growth of the Ibo Nationalism	116
	The Yoruba Response	117
	The Emergence of the Northern People's Congress	118
	The Trend Toward One-Party States	120
II	RELATIONS BETWEEN THE FEDERAL AND REGIONAL GOVERNMENTS	123
III	DEVELOPMENT PLANS	127
IV	IMPLICATION FOR HIGHER EDUCATION	133
V	SUMMARY	137
6.	ANALYSIS OF THE INTERVIEW DATA	139
	Introduction	139
I	GENERAL STATE OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN NIGERIA	141
II	CIRCUMSTANCES AND EVENTS INFLUENCING THE CENTRALIZATION POLICY	146
III	POLICY IMPACT	150
IV	ALLOCATION OF RESPONSES TO INTERVIEW QUESTIONS	157
V	SUMMARY	157

TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued)

CHAPTER	PAGE
7. QUESTIONNAIRE DATA	160
Introduction	160
I FACTORS INFLUENCING THE CENTRALIZATION POLICY.	161
Northern States' Perceptions of Factors . .	161
Western States' Perceptions of Factors . .	164
Eastern States' Perceptions of Factors	
Influencing the Policy	165
Inter-Regional Comparison	167
Highlighted factors	167
Low ranked factors	168
II OPERATIONAL PROBLEMS PERCEIVED AT THE TIME OF THE NEW POLICY	169
The Northern States' Perceptions of the Problems	169
Eastern States' Perceptions of the Problems	171
Western States' Perceptions of the Problems	171
Inter-Regional Comparisons	172
III ANTICIPATED IMPROVEMENTS IN OPERATIONS	173
Northern States' Perceptions of Improvements	174
Eastern States' Perceptions of Improvements	176
Western States' Perceptions of Improvements	177
Inter-Regional Comparisons	178
IV STATISTICAL RELATIONSHIPS	180
Inter-Regional Comparisons	181
Factors Influencing Centralization	181
Operational Problems	185
University/Government Comparison	190
V SUMMARY	193

TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued)

CHAPTER		PAGE
8.	DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS AND COMMENTS	197
	I CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS . .	197
	II FINANCIAL RELATIONSHIPS	202
	III SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES	209
	IV GENERAL CIRCUMSTANCES	217
	V NATIONAL UNIVERSITIES COMMISSION	219
9.	GENERAL SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	225
	I GENERAL SUMMARY	225
	Background and Purpose of the Study	225
	Conceptual Framework and Review	
	of Literature	227
	The Design and Methodology of the	
	Research	228
	Historical Background of Nigerian	
	Education	228
	Policy Environment	229
	Analysis of Interview Data	230
	Questionnaire Data	231
	II CONCLUSIONS	232
	The Appropriateness of the Model	232
	Research Findings	233
	III RECOMMENDATIONS	236
	IV RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION . .	239

TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued)

CHAPTER	PAGE
BIBLIOGRAPHY	241
OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS	248
OTHER RELEVANT PUBLICATIONS	252
APPENDIX A - Interview Record	254
APPENDIX B - Interview Transcript	262
APPENDIX C - Questionnaire Instrument	291
APPENDIX D - Correspondence Concerning Interview Arrangements	298
APPENDIX E - Correspondence Concerning Data Collection	301

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Description	Page
1	Summary of Questionnaire Population and Returns by Respondent Groups and States	64
2	Frequency and Percentage Distributions of Respondents from Each of the 12 States	65
3	Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Level of Reference	66
4	The Regions and their Parties, With Percentages of Seats Won in Various Elections from 1956 to 1965.	122
5	Primary Data Source	140
6	Allocation of Responses to Interview Questions	154
7	Means, Standard Deviation and Rank Order of Means of Factors that Influenced the Policy Decision	162
8	Frequency Selection of Most Important Policy Factors	163
9	Inter-regional Comparisons of Factors Ranked High and Low in Importance	168
10	Means, Standard Deviation and Rank Order of Means of Perceived Problems and Issues in University Operation	170
11	Inter-regional Comparisons of Operational Problems Ranked High and Low in Importance	172
12	Means, Standard Deviation and Rank Order of Means of Perceived Improvements from the Policy	175

LIST OF TABLES (continued)

Table	Description	Page
13	Inter-regional Comparisons of Expected Improvement Ranked High and Low in Extent	178
14	A Comparison of Important Problems and Problem Situations Expected to Improve	180
15	Comparison of Mean Scores of Influencing Factors by Regions	182
16	Scheffé Analysis of Variance of Influencing Factors by Regions	183
17	Scheffé Analysis of Variance of Factors by Regions	184
18	Comparison of Mean Scores of Problems of Nigerian Universities by Region	186
19	Comparison of Means of Expected Improvements	187
20	Scheffé Analysis of Variance of Expected Improvements of U Problems	188
21	Scheffé Analysis of Variance of Expected Improvements of U Problems	188
22	Scheffé Analysis of Variance of Expected Improvements of U Problems	189
23	Comparison of Means of Factors Influencing Centralization by Role Affiliation	191
24	Comparison of Means of Problems of University Institutions by Role Affiliation	192
25	Comparison of Means of Expected Improvement by Affiliation	195
26	Grant Paid to Universities	204

LIST OF TABLES (continued)

Table	Description	Page
27	Percentage Income of Nigerian Universities	205
28	Federal and State Subventions to Universities and Other Income 1969-1970	206
29	Staff/Student Ratio of Nigeria and Other Countries Compared	210

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

By and large, Nigeria had been administered under a unitary form of government until 1947. In that year, noting that "Nigeria falls naturally into three regions, the North, the West, and the East, and the people of those regions differ widely in customs, in outlook, and in the traditional systems of government," Sir Arthur Richards, the governor of the territory, introduced a new constitution which would make it possible for the diverse elements to progress, each group at its own pace, toward a Nigerian unity without sacrificing their diverse ways of life.

The Richards Constitution (1947) was largely unitary, but it was to be short lived: so great was the dissatisfaction over it that under a new governor, it was revised. The new "Macpherson Constitution" strengthened the federal principle; but it was not fully federal. It empowered the regions to decide on education policy including higher education in the regions, although they could not raise revenue. The Constitution, too, was to be revised soon, to be replaced by a fully federal one in 1954.

On October 1, 1954, upon the implementation of decisions reached at constitutional conferences in the years preceding, Nigeria became a federation of three (later, twelve) states. Each of the regions (Northern Region, and in the South of Nigeria, Eastern, Western, and Mid-Western Regions) exercised wide powers--legislative and executive--

over its area of jurisdiction.

The Nigerian Federation, then, came to be by a process that is the reverse of that by which most federations have been inaugurated.

Usually, federations have come into being through the association of formally separate units; Nigeria, on the other hand, became a federation through a process of "dissociation"--a single territory dividing up into federated units. (See Chapter 4 for the concept of Federalism in Nigeria.)

Before the institution of federal government, education was centrally controlled, with a certain amount of devolution. Upon federalization, education (as indeed most social services) became the responsibility of the unit (or regional) governments in keeping with the usual practice in federations, and thus the new arrangements may be said to have given formal acknowledgement to regional interest in education.

Subsequent constitutional changes in the country departed very little from the principles of the 1954 constitution. In 1960, Nigeria attained independent status as a sovereign nation within the Commonwealth, but in 1963 a Republic was proclaimed. The "First Republic" came to an end in January, 1966, when an army coup d'etat overthrew the civilian regime. Since then, Nigeria has witnessed dramatic changes in her political (splitting of the country into 12 state structure in 1966 and into 19 in 1976), educational (centralization of education in 1975), economic and social life.

In Nigeria, the University is the single most important institution for the generation of high-level manpower and the capstone of the entire educational system. The importance of the University and the

faith placed in it by the population can hardly be overemphasized. A university training, said Newman:

aims at raising the intellectual tone of society, at cultivating the public mind, at purifying the national taste, at supplying true principles to popular aspirations, at giving enlargement and sobriety to the ideas of the age, at facilitating the exercise of political power, and refining the intercourse of private life.¹

These and much more are expected of a university and the fact that a university is in a developing country, often commanding more than its share of the nation's resources, places more responsibility on it. To the extent that the university is capable of satisfying the needs of a nation, there is a justification for its claim on scarce resources. Failure to do this amounts to a betrayal. Nigeria's Universities have been given two major responsibilities. It is not only their responsibility to translate the nation's manpower needs into educational requirements but also to make the best use of the institution's facilities in the solution of the nation's problems, whether social, political or economic.

In the evolving higher education scene, certain persistent questions had arisen: should higher education continue to be the constitutional right of the regions (now states)? Could the regional universities aim at national rather than regional goals? How could higher education be a unifying factor in the country? And what should be the guiding policy of Nigerian higher education--preservation of indigenous culture or its displacement with Western Culture, or a

¹ John Henry Cardinal Newman, The Idea of University, New York Longmans, Green and Company, 1947, p. 91.

synthesis of the two? Finally, what should be the role of the Federal Government in supporting and controlling the nation's universities?

I THE CONTEXT

In Nigeria today, there is a great concern for what commentators call "a new philosophy" for higher education. The argument is that Nigerian higher education is not relevant to the needs of the society. This statement could imply that the end products of the university are not very relevant to the industrial needs. This situation is critical when one considers the fact that Nigeria is becoming highly industrialized and "business" is now a watchword in a post war Nigeria of 1970.

Furthermore, the secondary level of the educational system in Nigeria has broadened. Consequently the demand for university education is increasing, as is the cost. The Ashby Report testifies to the situation:

. . . the wind of change is moving so fast in Nigeria that something must be done. Although at times it is difficult to see so far ahead . . . we believe that it would be a grave disservice to Nigeria to make modest, cautious proposals likely to fall within her budget for such proposals would be totally inadequate to maintain even at the present rate of economic growth in the country²

Ashby was examining the situation of Nigerian higher education in the 1960's with some projections of growth into the 1970's. However Nigeria of the 1970's is witnessing nothing short of a revolution

²Eric Ashby, Investment in Education. The Report of the Commission on Post-School Certificate and Higher Education in Nigeria. (Federal Ministry of Information, Lagos, Nigeria), 1960, part I.

in higher education. The thirst for education and knowledge is unrivalled in the continent of Africa. This has been building up since the 1960's after independence. Viscount Head, the United Kingdom High Commissioner, gave an apt description of the situation when he observed:

I have travelled in many lands but I do not think that anywhere I have witnessed such a consuming thirst for education and knowledge as I have (in Nigeria). In the schools, in the universities, in the public libraries, during the lunch hour break, in their homes, with all the books they can lay hands on, the youth of Nigeria is absorbing knowledge day and night. This is a wonderful augury for the future and this consuming passion harnessed to the educational plans which are foreshadowed should bring a startling dividend in the years ahead.³

Such observations reveal the attitude of Nigerians toward education. Considering the high demand for university education, and the underdeveloped nature of the country's economy, there is a need for improved planning for human resources development. The need for cost reduction in Nigeria's higher educational system cannot be over emphasized when one considers the fact that Nigerian university education takes a sizeable percentage of the nation's GNP. This creates the problem of equity in higher education considering the high demand in human resources development at this stage of the country's economic and social development.

The need for cost reduction becomes more pressing in view of the fact that in Nigeria, the average annual cost per undergraduate student is approximately N2,050. (N represents Naira, the new Nigerian decimal

³Federal Ministry of Information, "Investment in Education", Nigeria: Twelve Months of Independence, Apapa: Nigeria National Press Limited, 1961, p. 24.

currency which came into effect in January, 1973, = \$1.50 American dollars).⁴

Nigeria has a population of approximately 61.2 million and Gross National Product of about \$90 per capita = (N60). The average recurrent annual per unit cost of a university student is about 34 times the Gross National Product per person in Nigeria. Thus, a three year course costs the equivalent of 102 persons' annual gross product. When we remember that a supply of sufficient graduates is itself essential for increasing the Gross National Product this figure becomes a nightmare. As a result of the escalating cost in university education, a corresponding increase in the federal financial support was called for by Nigerian universities. As the demand for federal financial assistance to state universities increased it became necessary for the Federal Government to establish a national policy under which such increased financial support could be made.

In September, 1974, the Federal Government in a policy statement entitled "The University of Nigeria Governance"⁵ formally took over the ownership and administration of that university. In January, 1975,

⁴Devaluation of Nigerian currency has an effect on the problem at stake. By devaluation, Nigerian imports are more expensive and the exports are cheaper. This has affected expenditure on education, so far most of the text books, laboratory equipment, etc., are still imported from foreign countries. The old Nigerian currency = \$3.04 (£ = 2). Now \$1.50 = N; \$2 = £ (sterling).

⁵West Africa No. 3010, March 3, 1974, p. 268.

the University of Benin was similarly taken over from the Midwestern State.⁶ In a policy guideline for future development of Nigerian higher education, the Federal Government said:

A major concern in the educational development of this country during the next plan will be to rationalize activities in this sector so as to ensure orderly expansion of facilities to meet the increasing demand for education at all levels. This orientation will require a vigorous Federal Leadership role and cooperation from the state government; . . . higher level education will be developed to meet the assessed manpower requirements of the country.⁷

The major objectives of the new educational policy are as follows:

- (i) To expand facilities for education aimed at equalizing individual access to education throughout the country.
- (ii) To reform the content of general education to make it more responsive to the socioeconomic needs of the country.
- (iii) To consolidate and develop the nation's system of higher education in response to manpower needs.
- (iv) To rationalize and strengthen the machinery for educational development in the country.
- (v) To rationalize the financing of education with a view to making the educational system adequate and more efficient.
- (vi) To make an impact in the area of technological education

⁶West Africa No. 3018, April 28, 1975, p. 494.

⁷"Guidelines for the Third National Development Plan 1975-1980." The Central Planning Office Federal Ministry of Economic Development and Reconstruction, Lagos, 1975, Chapter 8, p. 2.

so as to meet the growing needs of the economy.⁸

On March 29, 1975, the then Nigerian Head of State in a broadcast to the nation made public his government's policy on higher education. With regard to University education he said:

The Nigerian Federal Military Government has today decided to centralize ownership and administration of University education in the Federation in its resolve to correct inequities and waste in the country's higher institution--it is intended to more than double the present university enrolment during the plan period. Accordingly, university enrolment which now stands at about 23,000 will increase to about 53,000 by 1980. This will call for expansion and consolidation of the existing universities. Government has also decided to establish four other new universities under the plan.⁹

For most of the universities the news came with a sigh of relief especially those universities that had been facing serious financial difficulties to meet their recurrent expenditure.

On July 29, 1975, in a bloodless military coup the Nigerian armed forces again effected a change of leadership on the Federal Military Government. Some of the policies of the old regime were shelved, a number of them modified, however, the new Military Government assured the National Union of Nigerian Students who demonstrated in support of the new regime that the policy of "centralized control of university administration will be pursued vigorously."¹⁰

⁸Ibid., p. 2.

⁹Address by His Excellency General Yakubu Gowon, Head of the Federal Military Government, on the occasion of the Formal Launching of the National Development Plan, 1975-80, March 29, 1975, pp. 11-12.

¹⁰See "The Daily Times" Vol. 20, 996, August 4, 1975, p. 8.

On August 26, 1975, the two remaining Regional Universities-- the University of Ife in Western Nigeria and Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, were taken over by the Federal Military Government. The decree for the takeover of the two universities provided for the establishment of interim councils, and appointment of a first Vice-Chancellor of each university under the new arrangements. Justifying the takeover the Federal Cabinet Office issued a statement saying: that the new administration intended to "renew the existing machinery for the orderly development of the national universities system as an integral force."¹¹

At the time of the new policy formulation what was the existing machinery? How did it operate? What factors lay behind the new policy? And what does the future hold for higher education in Nigeria under the new policy? These questions indicate the general area of enquiry of this study, and are spelled out in more detail in the next section.

II THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to examine the policy decision of the Nigerian Central Government to centralize control of university education.

Main Research Questions

The problem may be stated in the following questions:

¹¹See "The Renaissance" No. 1013, August 29, 1975, p. 16.

1. What political, constitutional and financial relationships between Federal and State Governments might have influenced Nigerian higher education?
2. What social, cultural and religious relationships might have influenced Nigerian higher education?
3. What general circumstances, individuals, or groups influenced the development of the new policy?
4. What specific factors influenced the decision to centralize control of university education?
5. Comparing the intended and predicted effect of the policy decision, what do these changes imply in terms of university operations?

III LIMITATIONS AND DELIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

For proper focus, it is essential to note at this point certain limitations of this study. Invariably, educational policies are primarily concerned with two things: how much and what kind of education should be provided. The former deals with the quantity and the latter with form of education. It is not the purpose of this study to determine what quality of education was provided either in the "plans" or in "the actual development." Quality in education is a difficult and controversial subject; as yet no universally accepted and applicable indicators of quality practically exist. What

yardsticks that are employed depend on the goals of the evaluator?¹²

The study is limited to an analysis of data pertaining to those issues which led up to the federal government intervention in Nigerian higher education within the time frame of 1960-1976.

Records and statistics are scarce, sometimes only partial, and occasionally unreliable; this places some limitation on the findings.

The nature of military government in Nigeria, the ethnic nationality of the interviewer and the political as well as academic orientation of the respondents all place some limitations on the conclusions reached.

IV THE VALUE OF THE STUDY

In the past two decades, the Federal Government of Nigeria has been increasing its attention to education as an instrument of national unity and development. As part of its involvement in Nigerian Higher Education, and in an attempt to clarify the objectives and direction of education in Nigeria, it has taken two major steps to encourage educational research:

1. It has issued a public policy statement (1970) defining and reconciling the dichotomy of objectives of education

¹²See for example: Philip H. Coombs, The World Educational Crisis: A System Analysis, London: Oxford University Press, 1968. Also International Institute for Educational Planning, Quantitative Aspect of Educational Planning, Paris: UNESCO, 1966, and C. E. Beeby, The Quality of Education in Developing Countries, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968.

in Nigeria. The Federal Government stated:

There is a considerable controversy about what the objectives of educational development should be. Some have suggested that education should be provided for its own sake; as a means of enriching an individual's knowledge and developing his full personality . . . Others, on the other hand, hold that education should seek to prepare people to undertake specific tasks and employment functions which are essential for the transformation of their environment. The two points of view can be restated in terms of the conflict between regarding education as a consumer good and regarding it as capital good. Nigeria should in her stage of development, regard education as both

The concept of education as a capital good is linked with the concept of "human capital" which attaches high premium to human skills as a factor of production in the development process. A corollary of this is that human skill or productivity is just as important an input in the process of development as finance, natural wealth and physical plant. Because education plays a most important role in creation and improvement of "human capital" its relevance and importance to development is now very well recognized in development planning. Experience of developing countries during the past three decades has indicated that shortage of talents and skills needed for development can decisively retard economic progress.¹³

2. It has created the Nigerian Educational Research Council, a public agency with the responsibility for carrying on curricular research activities, funding important educational research projects, and encouraging action research activities of all types among all categories of educational institutions. The activities of this agency recently

¹³Federal Republic of Nigeria, Second National Development Plan 1970-74, Lagos, Federal Ministry of Information, Printing Division, 1970, p. 235.

revealed the absolute dearth of educational research activities in Nigeria before 1969 and the beginning that is being made in the area of social studies:

. . . We have already assembled at Lagos a sizeable research staff and our inter-disciplinary seminars show that much useful work is already being done on . . . African art, local history, African sociology, anthropology, etc. We have in fact, started a rudimentary school of African and Asian studies . . . such is the paramount importance that we attach to this aspect of placing our university in the service of our country.¹⁴

Paradoxically, the directions that most of the educational changes have taken have not attracted researchers.

Studies of Nigeria's educational experience tend to concentrate on Church-State relations, or the relationship between politics and education in Nigeria.¹⁵ Important as these themes are to Nigeria's educational history, the studies are not of direct value to Nigeria's educational planners. The UNESCO International Institute for Education Planning has a good collection in its Educational Planning series, but these are global efforts. A few of the studies that are directly related to Nigeria have to do with specific subjects such

¹⁴S. O. Biobaker, "The Purpose of University Education," The Report of the National Curriculum Conference 8th-12th September 1969. Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information, Printing Division, 1970, p. 106.

¹⁵An example is David Abernethy, The Political Dilemma of Popular Education: An African Case (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969).

as finance and external assistance.¹⁶ Indeed a brief review of the literature reveals that apart from government bulletins and commission reports, no single comprehensive study of Nigerian educational policy and planning experience in the past two decades has been undertaken.

The growing desire for a more effective and efficient education system and the increasing attempts to orient education to the achievement of a specified set of overall national goals make evaluations of educational policy efforts imperative. Moreover, in spite of the extensive experience of Nigeria in educational policy-making and the rapidly growing literature in this area, there have been remarkably few efforts put forward to establish and explain the causes and effects of any policy-decision on University education.

Part of the answer to this apparent lack of research in educational policy can be found in the fact that the whole area of educational planning in developing nations is still at its infancy relative to other areas within the field of education. As Coombs noted:

Before 1950, the term (educational policy) was scarcely known in most of the world. But since then

¹⁶A possible exception is A.C.R. Wheeler, The Organization of Educational Planning in Nigeria (Paris: UNESCO/IIEP, 1966). Wheeler's work differs from this study in that the former was a mere description of the Planning Machinery in Nigeria. The author himself noted that his study "is not concerned with the progress of education in Nigeria" (p. 11) and the focus is on "the first three years of the 1962-68 Development Plan." Three other UNESCO/IIEP publications on Educational Planning in Nigeria are: J.R. Thornley, The Planning of Primary Education in Northern Nigeria (Paris, 1968), L. Cerych, The Integration of External Assistance with Educational Planning in Nigeria (Paris, 1968), and A. Callaway and A. Musone, Financing of Education in Nigeria (Paris, 1968).

its popularity has soared. The great majority of the world's educational leaders and governments have now committed themselves to the idea of educational planning; international agencies are giving it a top priority, new training programmes have been set up, social scientists are doing research on the subject and a large new professional literature is emerging.¹⁷

In the Nigerian situation there is little or no evidence to ascertain whether or not the planned targets at various levels have been achieved or whether the educational outcomes sought in the plans have been fulfilled.

It is hoped that this study will provide Nigeria's Federal and State governments, and others involved in Nigeria's educational development, with an awareness of the peculiar problems of policy planning in Nigeria. It is further hoped that the conclusions and recommendations made in this study will generate further research within the area of educational planning and policy in Nigeria.

✓ USE OF TERMS

Higher Education. Institutions of higher education are defined operationally as any accredited university which awards degrees. In Nigeria, there were five such institutions in the pre-civil-war period between 1948-1962. After the civil war two universities were established: the University of Benin, and the University College at Jos Campus, an affiliate of Ibadan University. In 1975, the federal centralization of higher education necessitated establishment of four

¹⁷ Philip H. Coombs. What is Educational Planning? (Paris: UNESCO/International Institute for Educational Planning, 1970), p. 11.

more new universities across the country.

Social Investment. This implies public investment in education. For example, the amount of money the Nigerian Governments (Federal and State) allocate to the universities in the form of annual subvention--for recurrent and capital expenditure.

Private Investment in Education. This implies the amount of money a student pays for his tuition. He may pay this tuition by working and going to school or his family or parents may be paying for his education.

Scholarships. Given by private companies, scholarships can also be defined as private investment. Companies may give scholarships to prospective students who will work for them after graduation.

Systems Analysis Approach. According to Harbison and Myers,¹⁸ a systems approach makes it easier to identify in operational terms major problems and it compels the analyst to examine the critical interrelationships between various manpower, education and economic development programs. Thus, applying this methodology in the study, the investigator has attempted to bring out the interrelatedness between the different facets of the problems facing the Nigerian higher educational system.

Environmental Approach. A response of the government to challenges

¹⁸Frederick Harbison, "African University and Human Resources Development," Journal of Modern African Studies, 3, Vol. 1, 1965, pp. 53-63. See also other works of the author with his colleague, C. A. Myers, Sr., Education and Manpower (McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York), 1965.

or pressure from the physical and social environment.

Regions. Regions, as used in this study, are politically defined geographical areas of Nigeria prior to 1967 which had autonomy and a predominant tribal group with distinguishing social characteristics. From 1960 to 1967 each of these regions was administered as an independent political entity with full legislative and executive powers.

These four regions were further split up in 1967 into existing nineteen state structure.

External Aid. Assistance by agencies or countries outside of Nigeria is referred to as external aid. It can be rendered in the form of personnel, materials, equipment, or money.

Expatriate. Personnel from countries outside of Nigeria who were involved in university work in teaching, administrative or advisory capacities may be referred to as expatriates.

Topping-up. The term topping-up refers to the practice of enlarging basic remuneration in order to make a position more attractive, and thus secure, theoretically, better qualified personnel. It may take the form of providing additional moneys or it may provide additional benefits such as housing or transportation.

Formal Governmental Structure. A term that refers specifically to the theoretical and constitutional procedures of federal, state, and local government for policy-making and operational procedures.

Informal Governmental Structure. A term that implies the unofficial interaction between federal, state, and local government in the operations of government and the public educational enterprise.

Government's Financial Function. An expression that embraces those responsibilities of local, state, or federal government which provide financial support of Nigerian higher education.

Government's Regulatory or Supervisory Function. An expression that embraces those responsibilities of local, state, or federal government which specifically refer to the supervision of Nigerian higher education.

State Aid Patterns. A term referring to the formal arrangement of state government for the distribution of state tax money to individual Universities. This process is designed to achieve a minimal per student educational expenditure throughout the state.

VI ORGANIZATION OF CHAPTERS

In Chapter 2, a conceptual framework for the study is developed. The chapter contains a review of related literature with emphasis on findings in policy science research. Consistent with the purpose of the study, special attention has been given to the emergence of systems theory. As part of the conceptual framework, the chapter concludes with a discussion of the merits of environmental theory in the study of public policy.

Chapter 3 contains a description of how the sample for the study was determined, the methodologies by which the research data were collected and the procedures employed to ensure that the research testing instrument was characterized by a degree of validity.

Chapter 4 provides a general overview of the evolution of the

historical features of Nigeria's policy environment that will help in understanding and interpreting the contemporary configuration of higher education.

Chapter 5 examines concepts and the socio-cultural, political and religious differences in Nigeria as critical components of the policy environment affecting higher education (Research Problem #1 and #2).

Chapter 6 examines perceptions of interview respondents concerning the general circumstances, individuals and groups which might have influenced the development of the centralization policy (Research Problem #3).

Chapter 7 deals with statistical reporting of research findings. It examines the comparative rank ordered importance of groups under study and the significant differences of mean scores between groups of respondents (Research Problems #4 and 5).

Chapter 8 is a discussion and comments of how the data might be interpreted in response to the five research problems.

Chapter 9 is a summary of the study's conclusions and major recommendations.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

During the past fifteen years social scientists have shown an increased interest in the systematic investigation of the economic, social, and political correlates of public policies. The result has been a substantial and growing literature reporting the effects of socioeconomic and political variables on policy outcomes.¹ The theoretical and empirical contributions to this literature are distinguished by the attention given to the development of propositions and concepts describing hypothesized relationships among the variables thought to affect policy decisions. This chapter introduces basic concepts of policy sciences, and various models designed for the studying of public policies.

I. BASIC CONCEPTS

Before defining the term "public policy" one must look into the meaning of the word "policy". Lasswell and Kaplan have defined policy as "a projected program of goal values and practices."² It is a course of action in relation to others and "is constituted by interpersonal

¹R. W. Bahl and R. Saunders, "Determinants of Changes in State and Local Expenditures," National Tax Journal, 18, March 1965, pp. 50-57.

²Harold D. Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan, Power and Society. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950, p. 71.

relations."³

Elsewhere Lasswell defined policy as "the most important choices made either in organized or in private life" and so "policy is free of many of the undesirable connotations clustered about the word political."⁴ According to James Robinson, "'policy' refers to the goals (objectives, ends) of any social system, the means chosen to effectuate these goals, and the consequences of the means, i.e., the actual distribution of values."⁵ Van Dyke stated:

A policy is a product--perhaps a product of something called a process; it is an output of a system or subsystem . . . Policies imply or reflect goals; and in addition, they imply or reflect reasoning in the choice of plans or strategies or methods for promoting achievement of the goals.⁶

From these definitions one finds three basic elements of the term policy: (1) it is a decided plan for action, (2) it has a goal or goals, (3) it specifies the strategy to execute the plan of action and achieve the projected goals.

Public policy is generally referred to as the policy of public authorities affecting the public in general. The policy of a

³Ibid., p. 71.

⁴H. D. Lasswell, "The Policy Orientation," in Daniel Learner and H. D. Lasswell, eds., The Policy Sciences. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1951, p. 5.

⁵J. Robinson, Congress and Foreign Policy-Making. Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1962, p. 3.

⁶Vernon Van Dyke, "Process and Policy as Focal Concepts in Political Research" in Austin Ranney, ed., Political Science and Public Policy, Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1968, pp. 27-28.

government, a city council or a public corporation is therefore designated as public policy. Each level of government has its defined powers within which it works. Thus, public policy may be viewed as the authoritative or sanctioned decisions of the political system or a subsystem for the realization of an objective or a set of objectives by the employment of specified means.

A public policy may be defined by its elements. Ranney mentions several such elements. These are: a particular object or set of objects, a desired course of events, a selected line of action, a declaration of intent, and an implementation of intent.⁷

The Policy Sciences

Although political scientists have, to date, shown only qualified interest in public policy, recently some efforts have been made by a group of political scientists to develop a new social science--the policy science. The efforts may be said to have started with the publication of a book by Lasswell and Lerner in 1951 entitled The Policy Science.⁸ According to Lasswell, "The policy sciences study the process of deciding or choosing and evaluate the relevance of available knowledge for the solution of particular problems."⁹

⁷Austin Ranney, "The Study of Policy Content: A Framework for Choice," in Austin Ranney, ed., Political Science and Public Policy, op. cit., p. 7.

⁸Daniel Lerner and H. D. Lasswell, The Policy Sciences, op. cit.

⁹H. D. Lasswell, "Policy Sciences," in David L. Shills, ed., International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 12, p. 181.

Elaborating the point further he says:

Sciences are policy sciences when they clarify the process of policy making in society, or supply data needed for the making of rational judgements on policy questions.¹⁰

A policy scientist will not keep himself away from the on-going political process but "may commit himself to democracy, fraternity and security, or he may support a social order in which power, wealth, and all other valued outcomes are in the hands of self-perpetuating caste."¹¹

The object of the policy scientists is the improvement of "the rationality of the flow of decision." Equipped with appropriate "developmental constructs" the policy scientists can advise the policy makers on a wide range of alternatives.¹²

According to Lasswell, the policy sciences have three elements: the method by which the policy process is investigated; the result of the study of policy; and the findings of the disciplines making most important contributions to the intelligence needs of the time.¹³

Lasswell, however, did not suggest that the policy scientists

¹⁰H. D. Lasswell, Power and Personality. New York: The Viking Press, 1948, Viking Compass Edition, 1962, p. 120.

¹¹Ibid., p. 182.

¹²H. D. Lasswell, "The Political Science of Sciences: An Inquiry into the Possible Reconciliation of Mastery and Freedom," in American Political Science Review, Vol. 50, December, 1956, pp. 961-979.

¹³H. D. Lasswell, "Policy Sciences" in David L. Sills, ed., International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, op. cit., p. 182.

should be active politicians, nor that they should spend most of their time advising the policy makers. Their attention should be directed toward the solution of the conflicts in society.¹⁴

Lasswell has emphasized that all social sciences together may be termed as the policy sciences. This contention does not, however, seem to be tenable. The other social sciences, except political science and public administration deal less with the decision-making process of government. In many respects the social sciences have implications for public policy. We cannot deny for example, that sociology, psychology, economics, etc., study various aspects of national problems and as such give some clue to the solution of those problems. But these social sciences have no direct bearing on the formulation of public policy, and one cannot mark out "any one or several among them as the policy science."¹⁵

Aspects of Public Policy

In analysis of public policy, two aspects are generally considered the most significant: the policy process and the policy content. The policy process refers to the way in which policies are formulated. It is mainly concerned with the structure of the decision-making organization, the individuals in the organization involved in the making of the policy, groups external to the organization who influence the policy making, the communication pattern, etc.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 8.

¹⁵Carl J. Friedrich, "Policy--A Science?" in Carl J. Friedrich and J. K. Galbraith, eds., Public Policy, Vol. 4, 1953, p. 276.

Policy content refers to the authoritative decisions of the government. This is the output of the political system. Policy process deals with how policies are formulated and policy content with what policies are formulated. Policy content indicates the goals of the government. One cannot clearly differentiate between policy process and policy content, however, because the latter is largely determined by the former.

II. ANALYTICAL MODELS

Much of the contemporary policy literature is devoted to the construction of theoretical models for use in studying policy decisions. Although these models are characterized by their diversity, they can be grouped for analytical purposes according to their basic orientations toward policy analysis. Therefore, the following review distinguish between (1) those models concerned with explaining the impact of individuals or elites on policy outcomes, (2) those which categorize policies according to their real or expected effects on a society, and (3) the systems and ecological analysis models which provide a way of examining policies in their relationship with other social system variables.

Actor Oriented Models

A model which exemplifies the actor oriented approach to the analysis of public policy has been developed by Kenneth Gergen.¹⁶

¹⁶Gergen, K. J. "Assessing the Leverage Points in the Process of Policy Formation." in Raymond A. Buer and Kenneth Gergen, eds. The Study of Policy Formation. New York: The Free Press, 1968, pp. 181-203.

According to Gergen, the policy making process consists of a series of stages (subphases) where participants attempt to exert leverage (power or influence) in order to affect the outcomes of governmental action or alternative policy choices.¹⁷ Moreover, the willingness or ability of a participant to exert leverage is arrayed along three dimensions. The first of these dimensions--issue relevance, is the degree of importance an individual attaches to a political issue. The relevance of an issue is affected by an actor's perceptions of a policy's potential impact on the status quo, and may vary among individuals on the same issue, for an individual at different stages of an issue, or for actors across issues. Further, the level of issue relevance affects the chances that an actor will actually try to influence a policy decision. Thus, the greater the relevance of a given issue to a participant, the more likely it is that he will attempt to exert leverage in order to affect a policy decision.

Subphase resources are the second dimension of an actor's leverage potential. These are the assets such as authority, skills and money which he can bring to bear at a particular stage in the policy making process. To illustrate, a budget director, because of his position or skills may possess considerable resources and leverage potential at a financing stage of policy development. However, he may hold few resources at other points in the policy process.

Hence, although he may be in a position to exert leverage at the financing stage of a policy's formation, he may be unable to

¹⁷Ibid., p. 185.

influence decisions at the other stages in its development. In other words, the subphase resources held by individuals vary not only in quantity, but also in their utility as leverage mechanisms. Furthermore, because subphase resources are scarce, actors try to maximize their effectiveness by attempting to apply leverage only at those stages of the policy process where the potential rewards are greatest, and they have the best opportunity for success.

The third dimension of leverage, personal efficacy, is the participant's assessment of his ability to achieve his ends through the application of leverage. Personal efficacy is based on the individual's perceptions of his own capabilities as well as his evaluation of the subphase resources at his disposal and his analysis of the relative positions and strengths of other actors in the issue area.

To recapitulate, Gergen's leverage point model portrays the policy making process as a series of stages where individuals may act to secure desired outcomes by exerting leverage or influence. The decision to act is based on the actor's perceptions of the relevance of the issue at hand to his own interests and on his evaluation of his ability to exert leverage. Thus, the individual is the basic unit of analysis. However, it is also possible to analyze the public policy making process by focusing on the role of elite behavior in determining policy outcomes.

The utility of studying elite behavior as a method of policy

analysis has been suggested by Richard Hofferbert.¹⁸ In his presentation of a model for the comparative analysis of elite influences in state policy formation, Hofferbert offers several reasons for investigating the effects of elite behavior on policy outcomes. He first attempts to show that all policy decisions result, to some extent, from elite behavior. Thus he argues that any public policy may be viewed as the result of human activity, most of which takes place within a restricted group of actors who are close to the processes of deciding what is to be public policy at any given point in time. In other words, policy decisions are made by a policy elite which, according to Hofferbert, is comprised not only of formal office holders but also of an informal set of actors who participate in policy decisions.

To further justify the study of elite behavior, Hofferbert notes that even though the comparative studies of public policies in the states have indicated that socioeconomic variables account for some of the interstate variations in policy outcomes, a significant proportion of this variance remains unexplained.¹⁹ He goes on to suggest that:

The study of elites is necessary not only in order to expand the amount of variance in public policy outputs

¹⁸Richard I. Hofferbert, "Elite Influence in State Policy Formation: A Model for Comparative Inquiry," Polity, 2 (Spring, 1970), pp. 316-344. The following discussion is based on Hofferbert's presentation.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 322. Hofferbert relies on the findings reported by Thomas R. Dye in Politics, Economics and the Public to illustrate the levels of variance already explained.

for which we can account, but also in order to specify the linkages which account for the variance explained by socioeconomic factors.²⁰

In short, Hofferbert asserts that the analysis of elite behavior is, in effect, a prerequisite for a fuller understanding of the public policy making process.

In order to assess the effects of elite behavior on policy outcomes, Hofferbert has constructed a model which portrays, in a sequential fashion, the variables which may affect policy decisions.²¹ Those factors include historical and geographical conditions, socioeconomic conditions, elements of mass political behavior, and governmental institutions. They provide an environment which not only leads to policy demands, but which also affects the behavior of elites in converting these demands into policy outcomes. Thus these factors provide inputs to the policy making process through the intervening behavior of the policy elite. Furthermore, these variables normally affect the development of policy demands and responses in the sequence noted above. Therefore it is possible for relatively stable patterns of interaction (substructure) to develop in specific policy areas. Nevertheless, it is also possible for either the normal sequence of development or the subculture in the policy area to be interrupted by politically relevant external events. Still, according to Hofferbert, formal policy conversion is always preceded immediately by elite behavior regardless of the pattern of inputs. In other words,

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ibid., pp. 325-340.

Hofferbert treats elite behavior as the linkage between antecedent variables and policy outcomes, and the effects of these variables on policy decisions is conditioned, to some degree, by the perceptions and subsequent behavior of the policy elite.²² Dye summarized elite theory as follows:

1. Society is divided into the few who have power and many who do not. Only the small number of persons allocate values for society; the masses do not decide public policy.
2. The few who govern are not typical of the masses who are governed. Elites are drawn disproportionately from the upper socio-economic strata of society.
3. The movement of non-elites to elite positions must be slow and continuous to maintain stability and avoid revolution. Only non-elites who have accepted the basic elite consensus can be admitted to governing circles.
4. Elites share consensus on behalf of the basic values of the social system, and the preservation of the system. In America, the bases of elite consensus are the sanctity of private property, limited government, and individual liberty.
5. Public policy does not reflect demands of masses but rather the prevailing values of the elite. Changes in public policy will be incremental rather than revolutionary.

²²Ibid., p. 325.

6. Active elites are subject to relatively little direct influence from apathetic masses. Elites influence masses more than masses influence elites²³. (See Figure 1).

Typology Models

The models discussed above direct analysis toward a consideration of the effects of either individual or elite behavior on policy decisions. However, as already stated, there are alternative approaches to policy analysis. One such approach relies on the use of typologies in order to categorize policy outcomes according to either their scope or to their real or expected impact on a society. Lewis Froman, for example, has developed a typology which classifies policies according to their scope.²⁴ This typology distinguishes between two types of public policies. There are, on the one hand, "real" policies (e.g., fluoridation of water) which tend to be single application policies having a simultaneous impact on the general population within the boundaries of governmental unit.²⁵ "Segmental" policies (e.g., urban renewal), on the other hand, are continuing or on-going and affect only a limited or special element of the populace within a governmental jurisdiction.²⁶

²³Dye, Thomas R. Understanding Public Policy. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1975, pp. 24-25.

²⁴Lewis A. Froman, Jr. "An Analysis of Public Policies in Cities." Journal of Politics, February 29, 1967, pp. 94-108.

²⁵Ibid., p. 102.

²⁶Ibid.

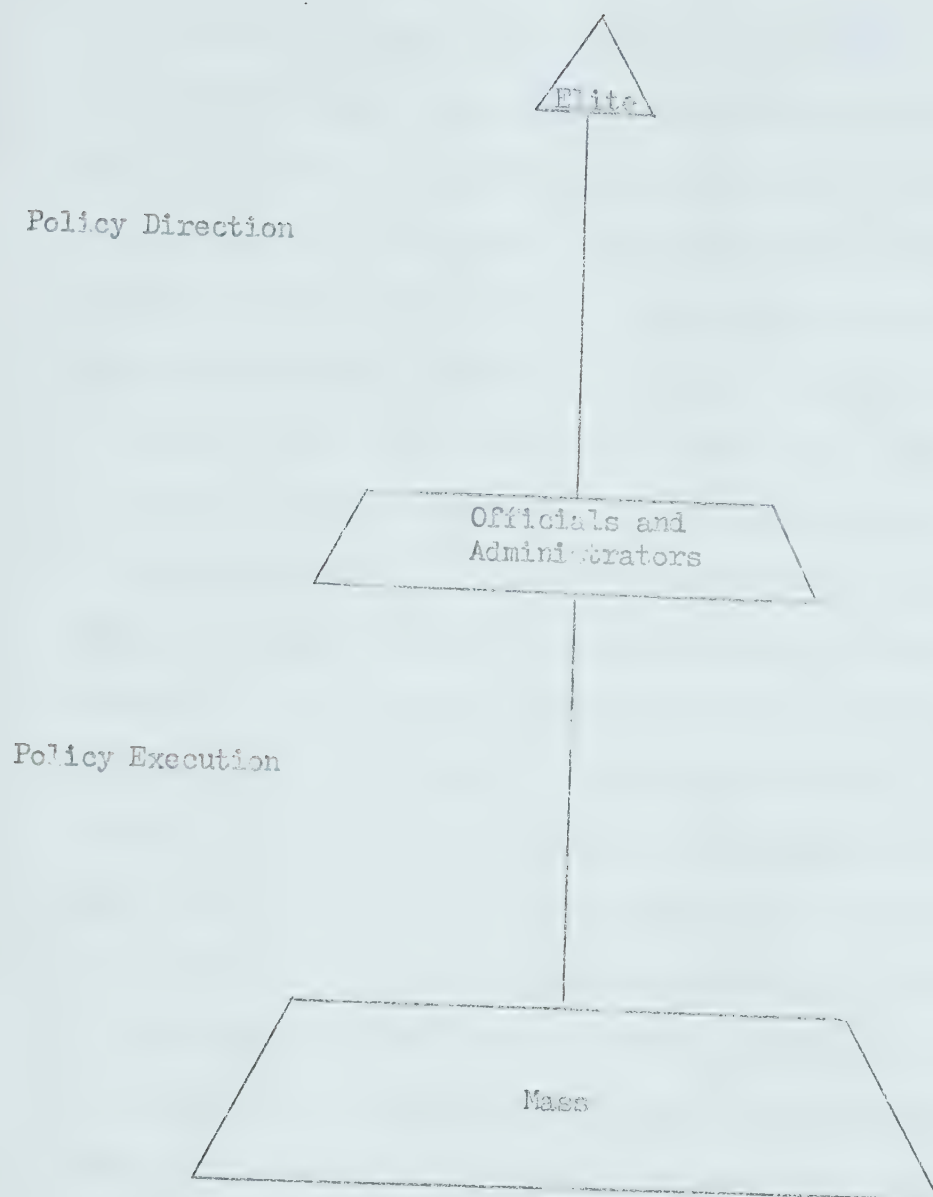


Figure 1
The Elite Model (Dye, p. 25)

Despite the theoretical interest of the models discussed above, several factors make their empirical utility problematical.²⁷ In the first instance, the concepts and categories advanced are not clearly defined. For example, Gergen gives only passing attention to the definition and description of subphase resources.²⁸ Similarly, although Hofferbert considers elite behavior as the crucial element in his model, his definition of this variable is limited to a listing of concepts, such as leadership and inertia, which are frequently used to describe behavior.²⁹ Secondly, in the case of the typologies, the categories employed are neither mutually exclusive nor collectively exhaustive. To illustrate, the categories set forth by Salisbury and Heinz array policies along regulatory/self-regulatory and distributive/redistributive dimensions. Thus, it is possible for a policy to represent a blend of either of the two polar types. The same problem is also present in Lowi's classification scheme which makes no provision for isolating policies which may involve combinations of ideal types. Furthermore, as Lowi has noted in discussing tariff and trade legislation, it is possible for policies to move, over time, from one

²⁷Timothy Hennessey, "The Comparative Analysis of Public Policy: Some Theoretical and Methodological Problems," (Paper delivered to the Midwest Political Science Association Convention, 1970). The following discussion, unless otherwise noted, is based on Hennessey's arguments.

²⁸Gergen, "Assessing the Leverage Point in the Process of Policy Formation," op. cit., pp. 185-186.

²⁹Hofferbert, "Elite Influence in State Policy Formation - A Model for Comparative Inquiry." op. cit., pp. 316-344.

category to another.³⁰ Finally, the concepts and categories proposed have no empirical referents. In other words, they represent nominal labels which cannot be readily measured. Salisbury and Heinz recognized the vulnerability of their model in this regard,³¹ and comparable problems are found with the other models discussed. For example, the treatment of such concepts as personal efficacy and issue relevance in Gergen's leverage point model provides no insight as to potential empirical indicators for use in their measurement. Gergen also fails to suggest measures which could facilitate identification of the stages in his model of policy formation process. Hofferbert, too, omits measures of elite behavior and the other stages of his model.

In review, the actor oriented and typological models of the policy making process suggest the potential importance of such variables as individual perceptions as determinants of policy outcome. However, problems of definition, concept formation, and measurement call the practical utility of these models into question.³² Similar problems are apparent in the application of systems analysis models to the study of policy outcomes in the American States.

³⁰Lowi, Theodore J., "American Business Public Policy, Case-Studies, and Political Theory." World Politics, 16 (July, 1964), pp. 677-715.

³¹Salisbury and Heinz, "A Theory of Policy Analysis and Some Preliminary Applications," pp. 58-59.

³²Schaefer, J. F. and Stuart H. Rakoff. "Politics, Policy, and Political Science: Theoretical Alternatives," Policy and Society, 1 (November, 1970), p. 69.

Systems Analytical Models

The basic theoretical concept underlying many of the empirical policy studies have been derived, for the most part, from the systems theories advanced by David Easton.³³ This approach to policy analysis is exemplified by the model (Figure 2) utilized by Thomas Dye in his investigation of policy outcomes in the American States.³⁴ Public policies are conceptualized as the results of a process where inputs to the political system (structures and processes) are received as demands which are generated when individuals or groups act in response to

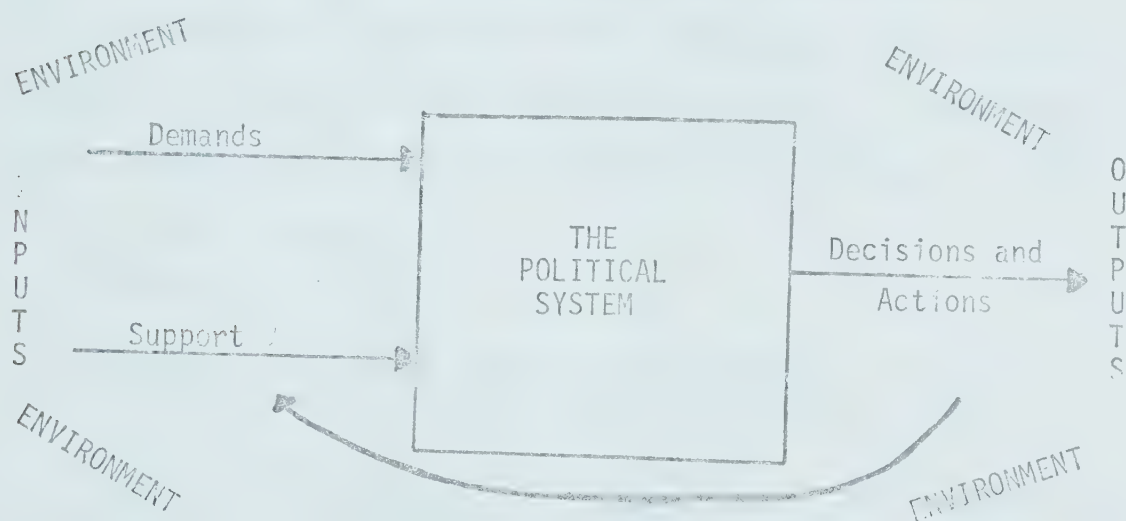


FIGURE 2. THE SYSTEMS MODEL

(Dye, 1975:18)

³³David Easton, "An approach to the Analysis of Political Systems, *World Politics*, 9 (April 1957), pp. 383-400; A Framework For Political Analysis, (Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1965); and A Systems Analysis of Political Life, (New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1965).

³⁴Dye, Thomas R. Politics, Economics and the Public. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966, Chapter 1.

perceived environmental conditions (socioeconomic development variables).³⁵ These inputs affect the characteristics of the political system which, in turn, transform the demands into outputs (public policies). The model also posits a direct linkage between the environment (socioeconomic variables) and outputs. In other words, the political system does not have an independent effect as an intervening variable between inputs and policy outcomes.

Despite this shared theoretical point of departure, the empirical policy literature is characterized by reports of diverse and often contradictory findings. To illustrate, Dawson and Robinson³⁶, Dye³⁷ and Hofferbert³⁸ have found that socioeconomic variables have the greatest independent effect upon public policies. Sharkansky,³⁹ Cnuddle and McCrone,⁴⁰ and Fry and Winter,⁴¹ on the other hand, have

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Dawson and Robinson, "Inter-Party Competition, Economic Variables, and Welfare Policies and the American States," p. 289.

³⁷ Dye, Politics, Economics, and the Public: and "Malapportionment and Public Policy in the States," p. 296.

³⁸ Hofferbert, "The Relation Between Public Policy and Some Structural and Environmental Variables in the American States," p. 82.

³⁹ Sharkansky, "Economic and Political Correlates of State Government Expenditures: General Tendencies and Deviant Cases," p. 174; and Spending in the American States, p. 60.

⁴⁰ Cnuddle and McCrone, "Party Competition and Welfare Policies in the American States," p. 865.

⁴¹ Fry and Winter, "The Politics of Redistribution,," p. 522.

reported findings which suggest that political variables explain a greater proportion of the interstate variations in policy outcomes.

Although a number of critics, including Jacob and Lipsky,⁴² Clark⁴³ Schaeffer and Rakoff,⁴⁴ and Hennessey,⁴⁵ have argued that these antithetical findings are the results of theoretical inadequacies in the literature, they have not questioned the fundamental utility of systems theory as a tool for policy analysis. They have instead, questioned the adequacy of the concepts employed and the accuracy of the measures used to assess these concepts. They have also asked whether or not systems theory has actually guided the selection of the variables used in the research reported. Clarke, in speaking to this point, has suggested that variables utilized in many of the empirical policy studies appear to have been selected because of the relative availability of data rather than for the theoretical relevance of these data to the analysis of the public policy making process.⁴⁶ Furthermore, even in these studies when

⁴²Herbert Jacob and Michael Lipsky, "Outputs, Structure, and Power: An Assessment of Changes in the Study of State and Local Politics," Journal of Politics, 30 (May 1968), pp. 510-538.

⁴³James W. Clarke, "Environment, Process and Policy: A Reconsideration," American Political Science Review, 63 (December, 1969), pp. 1172-1182.

⁴⁴Schaeffer and Rakoff, "Politics, Policy, and Political Science: Theoretical Alternatives," op. Cit., pp. 51-77.

⁴⁵Hennessey, "The Comparative Analysis of Public Policy: Some Theoretical and Methodological Problems."

⁴⁶Clarke, op. cit., p. 1182.

the variables selected may have some theoretical interest, the theory has rarely guided the research.⁴⁷ Rather, it frequently appears to have been appended as an afterthought to the data analysis.⁴⁸

When considering the conceptual inadequacies of the systems oriented policy literature, one finds that difficulties are apparent at the most basic level. As Hennessey has noted, "Perhaps the most fundamental problem in this body of research is the failure to adequately conceptualize . . . public policy."⁴⁹ This failure has led to considerable confusion as to the boundaries which distinguish one policy dimension from another,⁵⁰ and as a result, many of the comparative policy studies "... use measures of several dimensions indiscriminately without showing an awareness that more than one dimension is involved."⁵¹ However, the need for specifying dimensionality has been indicated by Sharkansky and Hofferbert. These researchers were able to identify two basic policy dimensions when they factor analyzed a number of

⁴⁷ Jacob and Lipsky, "Outputs, Structure, and Power: An Assessment of Changes in the Study of State and Local Politics," op. cit., p. 514.

⁴⁸ Schaeffer and Rakoff, "Politics, Policy and Political Science: Theoretical Alternatives," p. 61.

⁴⁹ Hennessey, "The Comparative Analysis of Public Policy: Some Theoretical and Methodological Problems," p. 9.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 11.

⁵¹ Jacob and Lipsky, "Outputs, Structure, and Power: An Assessment of Changes in the Study of State and Local Politics," p. 514.

policy variables representing both levels of expenditure and actual services delivered.⁵²

This leads to a closely related problem--the question of measuring the effects of policy decisions. Dawson and Robinson, Dye and Hofferbert have all treated government expenditures as indicators of the actual services performed.⁵³ Sharkansky, however, has reported empirical evidence which suggests that this assumption is not valid. Instead of the posited high relationship between these two categories of indicators, he found weak or negative relationships both between current levels of spending and services and between changes in expenditures and changes in services.⁵⁴

It is apparent, then, that the conceptualization and measurement of public policy has been characterized by a great deal of confusion. A review of some of the other concepts employed in the literature reveals similar difficulties. For example, most of the comparative policy studies have relied on only a few indicators to assess the effects

⁵²Ira Sharkansky and Richard I. Hofferbert, "Dimensions of State Politics, Economics, and Public Policy," American Political Science Review, 63 (September, 1969), pp. 872-874.

⁵³Dye, Politics, Economics and the Public: Dawson and Robinson, "Inter-Party Competition, Economic Variables and Welfare Policies in the American States;" and Hofferbert, "The Relation Between Public Policy and Some Structural and Environmental Variables in the American States."

⁵⁴Sharkansky, "Government Expenditures and Public Services in the American States," p. 1074.

of political phenomena in the policy making process.⁵⁵ Moreover, the operational measures selected have frequently omitted variables included in the theoretical statements or models which have accompanied the research. For instance, even though Dye included interest group structure, elite or power structures, and political style (rule of the game) as elements in this theoretical model of policy making process, he failed to operationalize these concepts in his analysis of interstate variation in policy outcomes.⁵⁶ Sharkansky has also suggested the importance of both the informal and formal rules which govern the behavior of decision makers, but he, too, excluded measures of these factors from his analysis.⁵⁷

A comparable set of conceptual problems and omissions surrounded the use of socioeconomic variables as indicators of the policy environment and the operationalization of these variables as direct inputs to the policy making process. There are two basic problems with the use of such variables as urbanization, industrialization, and per capita income as the only indicators of environmental influences on policy

⁵⁵For an exception see: Sharkansky and Hofferbert, "Dimensions of State Politics, Economics and Public Policy."

⁵⁶Dye, Politics, Economics and the Public, op. cit., p. 4.

⁵⁷Sharkansky, Spending in the American States, p. 3.

formation.⁵⁸ First, this practice excludes many variables from the analysis, and as a result the possible impact of such factors as social structures, ideologies, values and cultural norms on inputs to the public policy making process "is not tested."⁵⁹ Second, the variables included, since they may in fact all be indicators of economic development, may be measuring only one dimension of the policy environment.⁶⁰

Environmental factors have been operationalized, for the most part, as direct inputs to the public policy making process. Thus,

⁵⁸Studies employing these, and similar indicators include: Dye, Politics, Economics, and the Public; Dawson and Robinson, "Inter-Party Competition, Economic Variables, and Welfare Policies in the American States;" and Hofferbert, "The Relation Between Public Policy and Some Structural and Environmental Variables in the American States."

⁵⁹A number of authors have suggested the potential importance of these variables. For example see: Sharkansky, Spending in the American States, especially Chapter 1; Fremont, J. Lyden et. al., Policies, Decisions, and Organization, (New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969); Schaffer and F. Joff, Politics, Policy, and Political Science: Theoretical Alternatives p. 57; Morton Kroll, "Policy and Administration," Policies, Decisions, and Organization, p. 11; and John H. Fenton and Donald W. Chamberlayne, "The Literature Dealing with Relationships Between Political Processes, Socioeconomic Conditions and Public Policies in the American States: A Bibliographical Essay," Policy, 1 (Spring, 1969), p. 394.

⁶⁰James R. Elliot, "A Comment on Inter-Party Competition, Economic Variables, and Welfare Policies in the American States," Journal of Politics, 27 (February, 1965), p. 85.

one finds that Dawson and Robinson,⁶¹ Dye,⁶² Hofferbert,⁶³ and Sharkansky⁶⁴ have all operationalized environmental variables in this fashion. This approach is, however, theoretically suspect, for as Jacob and Lipsky have noted:

. . . income, urbanization, industrialization and education are not in themselves input. The measures have little substantive relationship to the phenomena they are supposed to represent. We might conceive of them as environmental factors which may lead to the articulation of demands and support and their communication to political authorities.⁶⁵

Furthermore, as Eyestone and Eulau have observed, "Environmental challenges must be perceived by policy-makers before they affect the policy process."⁶⁶

⁶¹Dawson and Robinson, "Inter-Party Competition, Economic Variables, and Welfare Policies in the American States," Journal of Politics, 25 (May, 1963), pp. 265-289.

⁶²Dye, Politics, Economics and the Public, op. cit.

⁶³Hofferbert, "The Relation Between Public Policy and Some Structural and Environmental Variables in the American States," op. cit.

⁶⁴Sharkansky, Spending in the American States, op. cit.

⁶⁵Jacob and Lipsky, op. cit., p. 514.

⁶⁶Robert Eyestone and Heinz Eulau, "City Councils and Policy Outcomes: Developmental Profiles," City Politics and Public Policy, in James Q. Wilson (ed.), New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1968, p. 51.

The conceptualization of environmental variables as directed in inputs to the political system appears to rest upon the implicit assumption that certain kinds of environmental conditions will lead to specific demand patterns.⁶⁷ But as Jacob and Lipsky⁶⁸ and Schaeffer and Rakoff⁶⁹ have pointed out, similar environmental conditions may give rise to diverse demand support activities.⁷⁰ These differential effects are due, in part, to the influence of variables which may intervene between a given environment, the articulation of demands, and the formulation of public policies.⁷¹ For example, as noted above, individual perceptions intervene between the environment and policy outcomes. Furthermore, the net effect of this perceptual activity is to eliminate, for the policy maker, the objective environment. In other words, environmental factors exist only as perceived.⁷²

⁶⁷Schaeffer and Rakoff, op. cit., p. 57.

⁶⁸Jacob and Lipsky, op. cit., p. 514.

⁶⁹Schaeffer and Rakoff, op. cit., p. 56.

⁷⁰Eyestone and Lulau, op. cit., p. 38.

⁷¹Jacob and Lipsky, "Outputs, Structure, and Power: An Assessment of Changes in the Study of State and Local Politics," p. 514; and Schaeffer and Rakoff, "Politics, Policy, and Political Science: Theoretical Alternatives," p. 56.

⁷²Schaeffer and Rakoff, Ibid., p. 65.

Several of the comparative policy studies mention the possible effects of perceptions in the policy making process, but this factor has not been utilized in the research reported to date.⁷³ Thus, Dye failed to consider the effects of perceptions on interstate variations in policy outcomes even though he argued that demands (inputs) for policy decisions resulted from individuals or groups acting in response to perceived environmental conditions.⁷⁴ Sharkansky, in his study of state expenditures, also suggested that the perceptions of participants in the policy making process are among the factors which affect the conversion of demands and resources into outputs.⁷⁵ However, like Dye, he did not attempt to assess the effects of individual perceptions on variations in expenditures.

Although students of the policy making process have not investigated the effects of perceptions on policy decisions, analysts of the legislative process have reported findings which indicate the importance of individual perceptions as variables affecting the policy choices of legislators. For instance, LeBlanc has found that state

⁷³Perceptions, as noted above, occupy a prominent place in the theoretical policy literature.

⁷⁴Dye, Politics, Economics, and the Public, Chapter 1.

⁷⁵Sharkansky, Spending in the American States, p. 3.

senators rely on their perceptions of socioeconomic conditions in their districts as guides for voting behavior.⁷⁶ Miller and Stokes⁷⁷ and Cnuddle and McCrone⁷⁸ have reported that the congressman's perceptions of his constituency's needs and attitudes shape his positions on pending legislation.

In review, it can be said that although the contemporary policy literature has facilitated an improved understanding of the public policy making process and policy outcomes, the current level of knowledge is far from complete. Furthermore, the explanatory potential of the systems approach to policy analysis has not been fully realized. These inadequacies are due, in no small measure, to a failure to test empirically a number of the propositions concerning variables thought to affect the decisions of policy makers.

Environmental Approach

Proponents of the environmental approach to the study of public policy argue that none of the models so far discussed offers much of a guide to the real understanding of public policy. A more fruitful approach, in their view, would be to analyze public policy from the

⁷⁶Hugh L. LeBlanc, "Voting in state Senates: Party and Constituency Influences," Midwest Journal of Political Science, 13 (February, 1969), p. 51.

⁷⁷Warren E. Miller and Donald E. Stokes, "Constituency Influence in Congress," American Political Science Review, 52 (March, 1963) pp. 45-56.

⁷⁸Charles Cnuddle and Donald J. McCrone, "The Linkages Between Constituency Attitudes and Congressional Voting Behavior: A Casual Model," American Political Science Review, 60 (March, 1966), pp. 66-72.

point of view of ecology. Ecology is defined as "the study of the relation of organisms or groups of organisms to the environment, or the science of interrelations between living organisms and other environments."⁷⁹ Although originally used in the biological sciences, the ecological approach is now being used in social sciences. Recently, this approach has been used in public administration. F.W. Riggs has drawn our attention to the ecological approach in his study of public administration of the developing nations.⁸⁰

Recent political writers have emphasized that there is a line of demarcation between the political system and other systems, although it is very difficult to distinguish them very clearly.⁸¹ For example, when a man works in the farm he is within the economic system and when he votes in an election he crosses the boundary of the economic

⁷⁹Eugene P. Odum, Fundamentals of Ecology. Philadelphia: W.W. Saunders Comp., 1959, p. 6.

⁸⁰Mention may be made of Riggs's two books: The Ecology of Public Administration (London: Asia Publishing House, 1961), and Administration in Developing Countries: A Theory of Prismatic Society (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1964). See also his article, "An Ecological Approach: The 'Sala' Model", in Ferrel Heady and Sybil L. Stokes, eds., Papers in Comparative Public Administration (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Institute of Public Administration, The University of Michigan, 1962), pp. 19-36.

⁸¹See for example, the writings of David Easton: The Systems Analysis of Political Life (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1961), and A Framework for Political Analysis (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965).

system and enters into the political one. A clear and distinct separation is not, however, possible. The political system lays down some rules which may affect the conditions of the farm and conversely, the condition of the farm (e.g., the increase or decrease of production) may lead the political system to change its farm policy. One therefore finds that although there is a line of demarcation between them there is interaction too.

The political system is distinguished from other systems for it alone has ultimate power of coercion. We may therefore set up a dichotomy and classify the whole system into the political system and its environment. All other systems, sometimes called the subsystems, are included in the environment. The environment may again be classified into two--the non-human and human environment. Many aspects of the environment may be included in each environment but we will consider for our purpose only those which have a major impact on the political system.

Since public policy has been defined as the sanctioned decision of the political system, and since the political system works within an environment, there is a close relationship between public policy and environment. This correlation between public policy and environment gives us the basis of the environmental study of public policy. Schematically, the relationship between public policy and its environment is given in Figure 3.

When we speak of the ecological approach to public policy we refer to the efforts of the political system to bring about changes in the

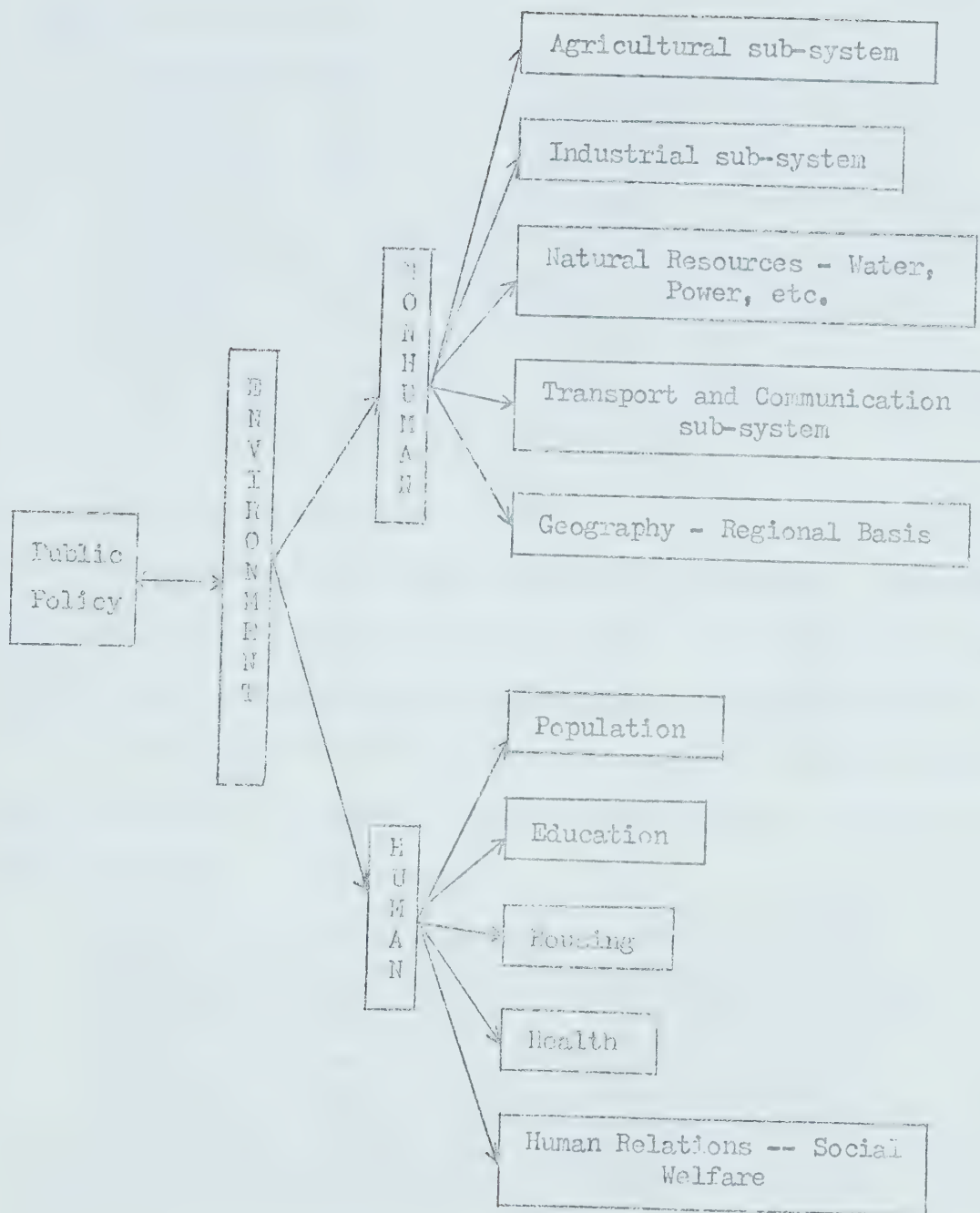


Figure 3
Environmental Basis of Public Policy

environment composed of non-human and human factors (see Figure 3). As Eyestone and Eulau stated:

We conceive public policy as a response of government to challenges or pressures from the physical and social environment. . . . Changes in public policy, then, can occur in response to changes in environment. The response can be two-fold: either the policy adjusts and adapts the political system to environmental changes, or it brings about changes in the environment. Which alternative is chosen, depends potentially on a great variety of factors--the structure of the political system including the vitality and diversity of its group life; the functions which it is seen to perform traditionally; its resource capabilities; and the values that policy-makers seek in formulating policy--their policy orientations.⁸²

The ecological approach to public policy also refers to the fact that we should study public policy in its totality. The study of a public policy in this way gives us more information about the general orientation of the government policy in relationship with other social system variables. For this purpose we need to study all the important policy areas so that we may know the ultimate goals of the government. Van Dyke remarks:

Political scientists pay relatively little attention to policy outputs designed to have consequences in environments external to the system. They pay little attention to policies concerning such matters as transportation and communications; science, technology, industry, and agriculture; money and banking, currency and credit; taxation; employment and unemployment; health, education, and social security; the family; the conservation and utilization of natural resources; even law enforcement.⁸³

⁸²Robert Eyestone and Heinz Eulau, "City Councils and Policy Outcomes: Developmental Profiles," in James Q. Wilson, ed., City Politics and Public Policy (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1963), p. 390.

⁸³Vernon Van Dyke, "Process and Policy as Focal Concepts in Political Research," in Austin Ranney, ed., Political Science and Public Policy, op. cit., p. 30.

Apparently, then, public policy should be formulated taking the improvement of the environment as the main objective and then adopting specific policies for each element of the environment. Caldwell also suggested an environmental basis of public policy"

Examination of the recent literature of human ecology, public health, natural resources management, urbanism, and development planning suggests a growing tendency to see environment as a policy framework within which many specific problems can best be solved.⁸⁴

The ecological approach, of course, faces two major problems. The first is the problem of limits. For example, how far the action of a government falls within the political arena and how far it falls outside the political arena and within other systems. Secondly, it will also be difficult to find out the exact nature and extent of inter-action between the political system and its environment.⁸⁵

III CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This study is guided by the systems and environmental analysis models of the public policy making process. The basic elements of

⁸⁴Lyton K. Caldwell, "Environment: A New Focus for Public Policy," in Claude E. Hawley and Ruth G. Weintraub, eds., Administrative Questions and Political Answers (Toronto: Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1966), p. 224.

⁸⁵Marston Bates, "Environment" in David L. Sill (Ed.) International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 5, p. 91.

these models (the environment, inputs, political system characteristics, and outputs) are similar to those employed in the comparative policy literature discussed above. However, because of the ambiguity and confusion which frequently surrounds their usage, it is necessary to consider these concepts as they are operationalized in this present research (See Figure 4).

Environment is treated as an aggregate of factors (both human and non-human) which may lead to the articulation of demands (inputs) and their communication to representatives of the political system,⁸⁶ (in this particular study--military governors and civil administrators in Nigeria). The models distinguish objective environment, measured by indicators of socioeconomic condition, and the environment as perceived by the participants in the public policy making process.

Inputs will be viewed as the demand or support activities which are articulated in response to perceived environmental conditions. This statement is based on the assumption that environmental factors can generate inputs only when they are perceived and acted upon.⁸⁷ In other words, the input stage of policy formation represents the point where environmental factors (as perceived by the relevant actors) are converted into either demands for government action or support for the political system. Inputs, however, are not to be treated as having a direct effect on policy conditions. Rather

⁸⁶Jacob and Lipsky, op. cit., p. 514.

⁸⁷Schaffer and Eulau, "City Councils and Policy Outcomes: Developmental Profiles." op. cit., p. 651.

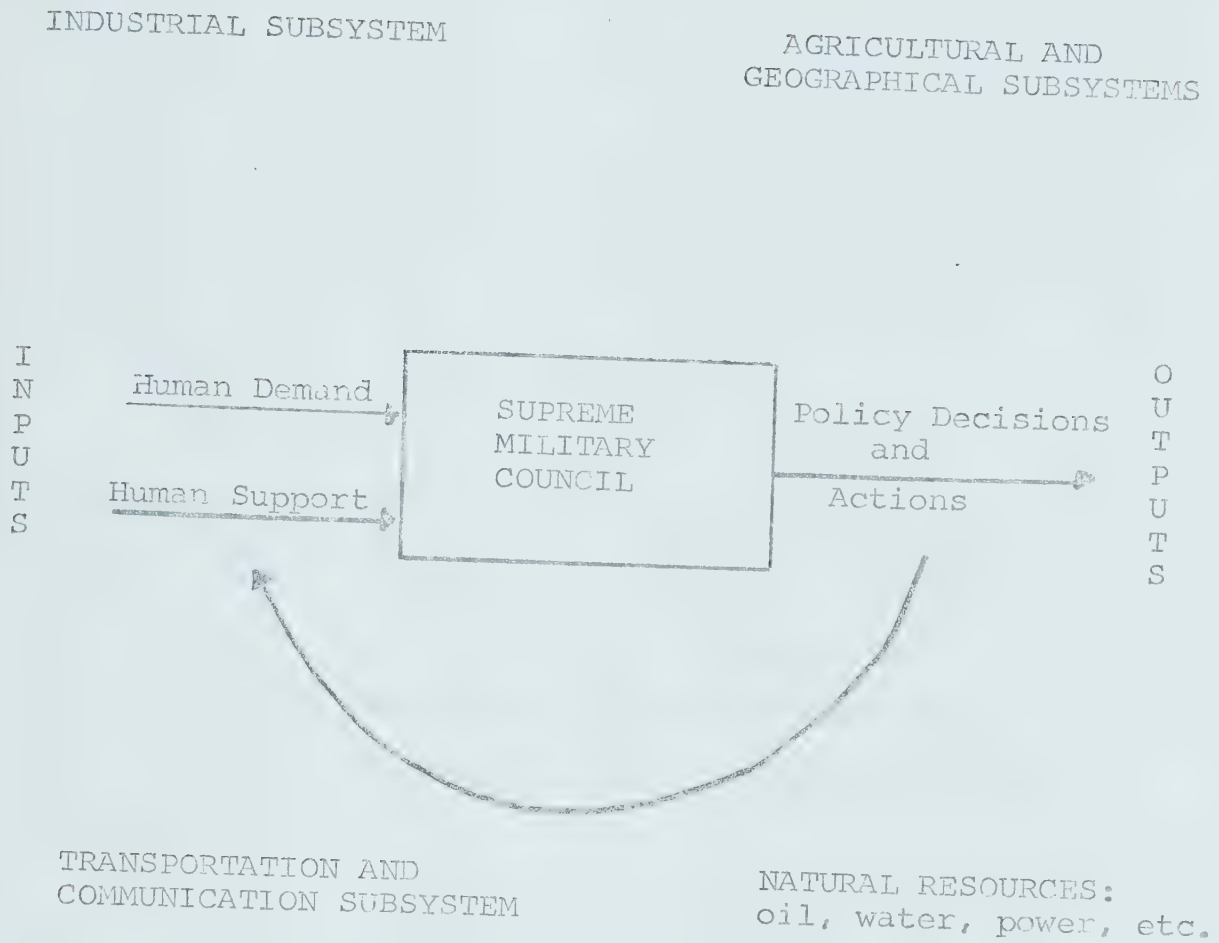


Figure 4
Combined Environmental and Systems Models

they must first be recognized by the individual policy maker.⁸⁸

Many of the comparative policy studies have operationalized the political system in terms of such structural variables as the levels of interparty competition, the voter turn out, and the extent of legislative malapportionment. There is, however, no compelling reason to assume that these specific factors influenced the policy of centralization of University education in Nigeria. Therefore, the model conceptualizes the political system more broadly in terms of interest groups, elites, roles structures.

Government expenditures and other indicators of the level of services offered have also frequently been used to measure policy outputs. However, for the specific purposes of this study, the "Centralization Policy" is viewed as the output element of the model. This is so because the primary focus of the present study is directed toward the issues and concerns which led up to the development of the said policy.

⁸⁸Eyestone and Eulau, op. cit., p. 51.

CHAPTER 3

THE DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

Introduction

This chapter includes a description of how the sample for the study was determined, the methodologies by which the research data were collected, and the procedures employed to ensure that the research testing instrument was characterized by a degree of known validity.

Studies in public policy have utilized a number of techniques. Interview questionnaires and documentary techniques are most often used in different combinations. In Nigeria, however, there have not been sufficient studies to warrant a comparative assessment of various analytical techniques. In this study the selection of research instruments was largely influenced by the nature of the problem under investigation.

Initially, it was thought that the use of one of the instruments mentioned above could yield sufficient information to achieve the basic objectives of the study. However, in reviewing available documents, it was discovered that because of the complex nature of Nigeria's higher education system, a single research technique could not in fact provide insights and explanations concerning all of the major areas of inquiry. The researcher therefore decided to seek additional evidence in the form of personal descriptions, perceptions, and judgements of knowledgeable persons who had been associated with or participated in University governance in Nigeria. It was therefore concluded that the

most convenient way of obtaining data of this type would be by interviews with informed officials and, secondly, by questionnaire which would survey larger numbers of university administrators, faculty members, members of National University Commission, and government officials. The data for this study were gathered through three successive and interdependent stages: (1) Documentary research, followed by (2) Interviews in the field, and (3) Questionnaire survey. This process began by asking selected individuals to suggest the names of persons who would likely have insights concerning coordination and control of Nigerian universities. This procedure enabled the investigator to develop an initial list of forty persons. The listing was expanded to include two key administrators (Vice-Chancellors and Registrars) in each of six Nigerian Universities.

I. DOCUMENTARY DATA

In the first stage, the body of documentary data obtained for this dissertation originated from a number of sources in both published and unpublished form. As expected, various libraries provided a considerable proportion of the information obtained. The scope of documentary material obtained far exceeded the data need of this study. Both classified and unclassified Government of Nigeria papers were obtained by a trip for that purpose to the Nigerian High Commission Library, Place de Ville, Tower A, Suite 2000, at Ottawa, Canada. Data were also obtained from the following libraries through the usual procedures including the use of the inter-library loan

services. The library facilities of the University of Alberta provided an adequate source for general information, but not for specific data on recent educational policies. The following libraries were visited for data of more specialized type:

Ahmadu Bello University Library at Zaria, Nigeria.
 Ibadan University Library at Ibadan
 Ife University Library at Ile-Ife.
 Lagos University Library at Lagos.
 University of Nigeria Library at Nsukka.
 Federal Ministry of Information in Lagos
 National Universities Commission in Lagos
 Nigerian Council for Science and Technology at
 Marina-Lagos

Visits to the above mentioned libraries were preceded by written requests for the use of the facilities accompanied by an outline of the study. In all cases, but one, library personnel were unhesitatingly hospitable and helpful. In University of Nigeria Library at Nsukka, a senior librarian, - Mr. Wilson Anebue (master's graduate in Library Science, University of Alberta) was specifically assigned to assist in the research. Working space was provided and, in a few cases unrestricted use of reproduction facilities was permitted at a considerably reduced cost. Also in two cases, access to materials not yet authorized for public reading was granted.

The documentary data source so far discussed related to such events in the past (1960-1970) which were documented. More recent developments, especially of the last three years, have not been properly documented in any detail. Thus, it was necessary to include interviews as a component in the research design.

II. INTERVIEW DATA

The purpose of the interviews was to secure an expression of personal views or perceptions on matters pertaining to the Federal Nigerian policy of centralization of higher education in Nigeria. As Clarke stated the interview instrument

can serve to be confirmative in the sense that it will help corroborate observations and findings emerging from the documentary analysis. It was intended to be explicative in that it would hopefully provide greater detail and clarity to areas not fully examined by available documents. It was also expected to be explorative in nature revealing new information, different perspectives, and additional contributing factors accounting for the changes being examined.¹

Stratification and Selection of Interviewees

The most creditable sources of interview data obviously were personnel associated with higher education at three different institutional levels:

- (i) Government: State/Federal;
- (ii) Coordinating Agency (National Universities Commission); and
- (iii) Universities.

The target sample was comprised of:

- (i) Six Commissioners of Education in whose states the Universities are located; the Federal Commissioner of Education, and the Federal Permanent Secretary for Education;
- (ii) Two members of the National Universities Commission;
- (iii) Vice-Chancellors of each university; and two senior administrators randomly selected from each of the six universities.

¹Clarke, Claude R. "Coordination of Higher Education in Atlantic Canada". Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada. 1975, p. 69.

Conduct of the Interview

An interview schedule was prepared, each interview (see Appendix A) usually consisted of a common core of questions plus optional questions which might be answered. A flexible approach was used and a number of open-ended questions were included. It was felt that most significant and frank information would likely come out of a less structured situation.

Other features of the interview schedule included--a selection of questions and phraseology that did allow inquiries to be adjusted to particular conditions in a particular state or university environment in which the respondent works. Supplementary questions were designed to probe more deeply into areas that were considered to require more description or explanation; and to establish a measure of reliability in any given interview, certain of the core questions were asked twice using different phraseology.

Interviews were conducted in two phases. One phase was done by by investigator's three interviewers who were well instructed on the procedure to follow.

The second phase was by the investigator himself. Interviews were conducted between April 21st to May 7th during which the investigator attended as an observer the meeting of Vice-Chancellors in Lagos.

A covering letter was sent to each Vice-Chancellor.² The letter

²See Appendix E.

explained the nature of the study, listed the individuals whom the researcher wished to interview, and asked the assistance of the Vice-Chancellor's office in establishing an interview schedule.

Letters were also sent to individuals whom the researcher wished to interview on each campus.³ These letters explained the nature of the study and asked for cooperation in granting an interview to discuss the issues related to the study.

Interviews lasted from thirty-five minutes for the briefest one to four hours for the longest. All the interviews were conducted with the understanding that information would not be attributed to the interviewee without his permission. The majority of those interviewed held or still hold key positions in public life and were understandably reluctant to permit direct attribution of candid remarks on sensitive issues. In order, then, to preserve anonymity, where so desired, and at the same time include important contributions, a special reference system was developed. In this thesis, therefore, where the term "Category B" appears in brackets following a quotation (direct or paraphrased) it is to be understood the particular contributor wished to remain unidentified.

The majority of the interviews were recorded on tape with an assurance that permission would be obtained if direct quotations or references were to be used. In those few cases where the respondents preferred not to be taped notes were taken and a summary was made

³See Appendix F.

immediately after the interview session.

At the University of Ahmadu Bello the Investigator interviewed all personnel who had been originally selected for interview on the six campuses, National Universities Commission and Government Departments.

At the University of Ibadan one of the two people originally selected for interview was out of town. However, additional persons were substituted.

At University of Benin, all persons initially selected were interviewed with the exception of one who was out of town. However, he later completed the interview record, and mailed it to the investigator's address in Canada ⁴

At the Universities of Ife and Nigeria all the interviewees selected were interviewed.

The University of Lagos was a bit different. Because of a student crisis and the sensitive nature of the situation only one interview was completed.

The National Universities Commission's Chairman and General Secretary were both interviewed.

During the period of the interview, Nigeria was just out of her fourth military coup in ten years. All the commissioners of Education were military officers who were very reluctant to discuss policy decisions. However, the federal commissioner of education was

⁴See Appendix G.

interviewed. He too spoke on behalf of the Nigerian Military Government.

III. QUESTIONNAIRE DATA

The questionnaire was the third and final technique in the data gathering strategy for this study. The use of the questionnaire was intended to extend the survey to a larger cross-section of the population and thereby facilitate a more representative picture of the population. It also provided additional supporting evidence that would permit the refinement, grouping and ranking of perceptions and expectations of professors, Deans of Faculty, and senior administrative personnel in governments and universities.

Development of the Questionnaire

The information obtained in Documentary and Interview phases of data gathering was refined and incorporated in the first draft of the questionnaire. This draft was administered to fifteen senior administrators of universities and government departments in Nigeria. The results of this pilot test were favorable and yielded much useful information for revision of the questionnaire.

The draft of the instrument was further refined and discussed with doctoral committee members. The resulting suggestions were considered and further refinement of the instrument was accomplished.⁵

⁵See Appendix C.

The questions raised in the instrument sought respondents' views and perceptions about contributing factors, events, decisions that influenced the policy. They were also asked to make judgements on expectations that were perceived of the policy. The items called for an assessment of importance on a Likert-type five point scale that represented a continuum from "none" to "major" extent.

Since the impact of the policy falls squarely on Deans and Chairmen of Departments in various Universities, sixty of them were selected by a random process, and ten of them were drawn from each of the six universities in Nigeria. The questionnaire was constructed with two component parts.

Part 1: Factors Contributing to the New Centralization Policy.

This section (14 items) was designed to investigate the general views of respondents about the antecedents and specific social, economic, political, cultural and environmental factors that contributed to the policy change from local to centralized University control.

Part 2: Issues of Importance and Operational Problems.

This section (20 items) listed a number of issues of importance and operational problems of University education in Nigeria. Respondents were asked to provide a rating of the extent of the problem facing administration in their universities. They were also required to indicate how they thought the policy would bring about improvements in those areas. The open-ended question at the end was designed to provide an opportunity for respondents to speculate on what further

action or change might be anticipated as a result of the new policy.

Questionnaire Administration

Questionnaires were mailed out during the first week in March with a letter soliciting cooperation enclosed in each case. By the first week in May, 75 percent of the questionnaires were completed and returned. This represents 45 respondents of the sample numbered 60. While anonymity of the respondents was assured, each respondent was asked to identify himself with a state he would use as reference, clarification of position that would help to define his status and level of his reference.

Table 1 provides a breakdown of returns by states and position occupied. The table shows that returns were recorded from all respondent groups. However, no returns were received from the Benue Plateau State. Forty-five questionnaire returns represented seventy-five percent of the sample.

Table 2 shows the frequency and percentage distribution of respondents from each state. East Central State provided fourteen returns. This represents thirty percent of the total return. It could be mentioned at this point that only ten questionnaires were mailed to the University of Nigeria located in the East Central State. The return of the fourteen responses instead of ten could be explained by the fact that some respondents identified themselves with state of origin rather than state of operation.

Table 3 illustrates frequency and percentage distribution of

TABLE 1

SUMMARY OF QUESTIONNAIRE POPULATION AND RETURNS BY RESPONDENT GROUP AND STATE

States	No. of Questionnaires Mailed	No. Returned by States	F.M.N.U.C.	P.M.N.U.C.	U.A.	F.M.	G.O.E.	B.C.F. ^b	Not Specified
Benue Plateau*									
East Central	10	14 ^a	1		1	9	2		1
Kano State		2					2		
Kwara State	10	6			5	1			
Lagos State	10	7		1	1	3			
Mid Western	10	4	1		2	2		1	1
North Western		2				1	1		
North Central		3				1			
North Eastern		1				1		1	
Rivers State		2			1				
South Eastern							2		
Western State	20	4	1				2	1	
Total	11	60	45	2	1	10	17	10	3
Total %	100 ^c		75	4.4	2.2	22.2	37.7	22.2	6.6
									4.4

* No returns

a. some respondents identified themselves with state of origin rather than state of operation

b. See Appendix C for details

c. % total rounded up

TABLE 2

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS OF RESPONDENTS FROM
EACH OF THE 12 STATES

States	F	%
1. Benue-Plateau state*		
2. East-Central State	14	31.1
3. Kano state	2	4.4
4. Kwara state	1	2.2
5. Lagos state	6	13.3
6. Mid-Western state	5	11.1
7. North-Western state	4	8.9
8. North-Central state	2	4.4
9. North-Eastern state	3	6.7
10. River state	2	4.4
11. South-Eastern state	4	8.9
12. Western state	2	4.4
Total	45	100

*No response.

TABLE 3

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS' LEVEL
OF REFERENCE

Level of Reference	Frequency	Percentage
Government	12	26.7
National U. Commission	3	6.7
Universities	27	60.0
*	3	6.7
Total	45	100.0

* Respondents did not identify themselves with any of the three levels of reference.

respondents' level of reference. The table shows that universities, with sixty percent returns, provided the largest number of returns followed by the Government, with a little over twenty-six percent of the total returns.

The questionnaire data provided the basis for a number of statistical comparisons of respondents' perceptions about the centralized coordination of higher education. In the analysis of the data (Chapter 7), use of t test and Scheffé multiple comparison of means were applied to obtain the significance of differences between means of each group.

IV SUMMARY

In this chapter research procedures have been described. The procedures included the selection and refinement of the instruments used in the study and the descriptions of the research methodology.

In the first part of the chapter discussion centred around how the documentary body of data used in this study was obtained. The data originated from a number of sources in both published and unpublished forms. At the federal level the reports of several commissions, agency reports and government classified documents provided useful background information.

In the second section of this chapter, the procedure employed in the selection of the interviewees, and the development of the interview instruments used in the study were described. For the validation of the instrument, a pilot test was conducted. The pilot test necessitated further changes in the instrument. A flexible approach was incorporated that allowed inquiries to be adjusted to particular local conditions.

The final section of this chapter described the questionnaire instrument used in the study. This section included such things as securing permission to conduct the study, the construction of the instrument and the administration of the questionnaires. Some flexibility was incorporated by providing respondents with the opportunity to indicate and assess additional items that in their view properly belonged to a particular group.

CHAPTER 4

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF NIGERIAN EDUCATION

Introduction

This chapter provides a general background description of the structural features of Nigeria's educational system that will help in understanding and interpreting the country's higher educational policies and development. Educational policy and development are continuous processes, and the study and extrapolation of past trends are essential to facilitate an analysis of more recent events. Also, since the present study is concerned primarily with an examination of the centralized policy of University coordination in the country, it is important, for the subsequent interpretation of data, to know something of the political constitutional and cultural antecedents of Nigerian education. Specifically, this chapter, presents the historical context of the Nigerian education system including Christian missions, relevant commission and foundation reports.

I EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The Coming of Western Education

The area now known as Nigeria had been variously referred to as Niger Coast Protectorate, Central Sudan, Housa States, Slave Coast, or the Royal Niger Company territories. It was only on January 8,

1897, that Flora Shaw,¹ a correspondent of the London Times, first suggested the name "Nigeria" in an article published in the Times. In July, 1899, the name was officially recognized in the House of Commons' debate on the Royal Niger Company.

The first Christian mission was established in 1842 by the Wesleyan Methodist Mission Society. In the following year this Society started Nigeria's first school with fifty pupils and appropriately it was called "The Nursery of the Infant Church".² Beginning on the coast, this and other missions which followed moved inland along the main rivers and land routes establishing their influence in many areas at a time when no British trader or administrator had yet appeared. From the earliest stages, the missions aimed at the establishment of schools, which they regarded as an important part of their work. As Rev. T.J. Bowen, pioneer of the American Baptist Mission to Nigeria noted in his book published in 1857:

Our design and hopes in regard to Africa are not simply to bring as many individuals as possible to the Knowledge of Christ. We desire to establish the Gospel in the hearts, minds and social life of the people, so that truth and righteousness may

¹James S. Coleman. Nigerian Background to Nationalism. Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1958, p. 44.

²J.F. Ajayi, Christian Missions in Nigeria 1841-1891. The Making of the New Elite. (Ibadan: History Services, Longmans, 1965), p. 33.

remain and flourish among them, without the instrumentality of foreign missionaries. This cannot be done without civilization. To establish Gospel among any people, they must have Bibles and therefore must have the art to make them or the money to buy them. They must read the Bible and this implies instruction.³

For the purposes of this study, the importance of Christian Missions lies as much in the schools they built as in the concepts of education they introduced. This study does not intend to discuss the major controversies between protagonists of selective classical education and advocates of mass technical or agricultural education for Africans. However, it must be said that the role of higher education in Nigeria must be seen in the final analysis within the concept of the country's political and educational development both of which were pioneered by the Christian missions.

Development of Government Interest in Education

As noted earlier, one characteristic feature of the early period was that missionary bodies alone showed interest in the work of education. As far as government was concerned, education was not a priority at this time. The top priorities as stated by Governor Freeman of Lagos in 1883 were as follows:

³Thomas J. Bowen, Missionary Labors and Adventures in Central Africa. (Charleston U.S.A. 1857), p. 321.

Roads must be made, swamps filled up, the river banks properly staked and supported to prevent its being washed away. . . A good prison must be commenced without delay as the present one is falling down and it is difficult to guard the prisoners escaping. A hospital must be erected and a powder magazine built and eventually we shall need some barracks for the police. Nothing has yet been undertaken by Government in the way of education owing to the want of necessary funds.⁴

The interest of the colonial administration in education was first indicated in 1877 when the Lagos administration provided an amount of \$400 to each of three missionary societies carrying out educational work in the colony of Lagos. Government interest in education was not expressed beyond the provision of this sum. In 1882 when the colony of Lagos was still united to the Gold Coast Colony, the first education ordinance was enacted for the promotion and assistance of education. The ordinance provided for a general Board of Education with power to establish local boards who would advise on the opening of new Government schools and report on the manner in which schools receiving Government grants-in-aid were administered.

Following the separation of the Lagos Colony from the Gold Coast Colony and the establishment of the Colony and Protectorate of Lagos,

⁴A. Fajana, "Missionary Educational Policy in Nigeria", West African Journal of Education, XIV, 2, (June 1970), p. 107.

the first purely Nigerian education ordinance was promulgated in 1887. The 1887 education ordinance prescribed in greater detail the rates of and conditions attaching to grants, laid down standards of examinations, classified teachers' certificates and empowered the Board of Education to grant scholarships for secondary education. The importance of these ordinances is twofold; first, because of the grants-in-aid they ensured, however small, they generated increased educational efforts among the Christian missions; second, by their very nature they represented increasing interest of colonial administration in the education of the Nigerians.

Nevertheless, Henry Carr, an official of the Education Department who unquestionably was the pioneer of the movement for Government control of education, attacked the dual system in 1900:

The time has come for the Government to exercise public supervision over the Mission schools with a view to promoting their efficiency and testing their intellectual force. . . . When schools are without Government inspection the tendency is to understaff them to underpay the teachers, and to ambition a multiplicity of subjects without a thorough grounding in the elementary matters of instruction; school appliances and furniture too are ill-supplied, and no sufficient attention is given to the condition of buildings or of school grounds. All these defects and deficiencies will grow with the growth of Southern Nigeria unless the Government steps in and takes the schools in hand.⁵

⁵ Henry Carr, Special Report on the Schools in Southern Nigeria and Old Calabar (Lagos: Government Printer, 1900), p. 21.

In another Report in 1902, Henry Carr commented upon the unsatisfactory provisions in the school system and remarked that "a really suitable system of education cannot be cheap and cannot be provided under the voluntary system".⁶ Yet, in 1960 when Nigeria became independent, the mission educational agencies were still responsible for over 70 percent of the schools in the Western and Eastern Regions and the Federal territory of Lagos.⁷

When Frederick Lugard became the first Governor-General following the creation of Nigeria in 1914, the need for a more comprehensive and systematic educational policy had become evident. This need was met by his Memorandum of Education Code of 1916. As Governor-General of Nigeria, Lugard's policy was one of increasing support for approved mission schools and encouraging the transfer of non-assisted schools to the Assisted List.⁸ The Education Code of 1916 provided for a less

⁶L.J. Lewis, Society, Schools and Progress in Nigeria, (New York): Pergamon Press, 1965), p. 28.

⁷F.H. Hilliard, A Short History of Education in British West Africa (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1956), p. 123.

⁸Lord Lugard was Governor-General of Nigeria 1914-1919 after a previous assignment as Governor of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria. In his Memorandum on Education, he declared, "I regard it as an essential feature of a right policy in Education that it should enlist in hearty co-operation all educational agencies in the country which are conducted with the sole object of benefiting the people. . . . Unassisted schools are independent of Government control, but I hope that they will be induced to conform to the principles and policy laid down by Government, and supported and approved by the principal educational agencies." F.H. Hilliard, A Short History of Education in British West Africa (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1956), p. 87.

complicated system of grants-in-aid to the missions than hitherto, grants being made dependent on the general efficiency of school instead of wholly on individual examination results. Ten years later another Education Code, this time for Southern Nigeria, required that teachers should be registered as a condition of teaching in any school, forbade the opening of school unless the Director and the Board of Education were satisfied that it would be properly conducted and staffed, provided for the closing of poorly administered schools, and defined the functions and duties of government supervisors and mission inspectors. A significant feature of educational development during the early missionary work in Nigeria is the lack of interest in higher education. The colonial administration equally showed no enthusiasm in the early development of institution of higher learning.

II HIGHER EDUCATION DURING THE COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION (1800-1949)

Historical Development

By and large, Nigerian Universities, whether new or old, are rooted in alien cultures. This determines one of the major tasks for those concerned with higher education in Nigeria. The dimensions and complexities of the problem can be seen from the study of the various commissions dealing with higher education during the colonial administration.

Although Britain did not formulate any official policy regarding

higher education in West Africa in the early part of the twentieth century, the Church Missionary Society had established university courses at its theological seminaries. As early as 1872, Edward Blyden, an African Nationalist, thought of curing educational malaise and came forward with the radical prescription for the control of his projected Universities by West Africans. It was such an African pressure which played the decisive role in launching university studies at Fourah Bay College in 1867.⁹ Blyden's¹⁰ main concern was to secure the teachers and literature needed to lay the foundation of an educational system properly adapted to the African requirements. He wanted the university to restore cultural self respect among Africans. He also wanted to cut out from higher education the study of modern western civilization and to add African language, songs, and oral tradition and a form of Christianity adapted to the African people.

Another prominent African who urged for the need of local facilities for higher education was Dr. J.A.B. Horton. Dr. Horton made a proposal for the establishment of a medical school in West Africa where young Africans might be prepared by an African in the preliminaries of medicine before proceeding to higher studies in England.

In the first part of the twentieth century, the enlightenment of higher education in British West Africa passed to J.E. Casely Hayford.

⁹Eric Ashby, Universities: British, India, African. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966, p. 182

¹⁰E.W. Blyden, The West African University: Freetown, 1872, p. 45.

Hayford¹¹ rested the case for a West African university on the need for teachers who could free the educational system from foreign influences. He wrote a book entitled "Ethiopia Unbound" in which he expressed his idea very clearly in the form of fiction. He described the founding of an imaginary 'Mfantsipin National University'. In this book he emphasized that an African university should not be a mere imitation, and teaching should be in the vernacular language.

In 1907, the governor of Southern Nigeria submitted details of a scheme for the establishment of a government college in Lagos. The proposal was for a day school that would teach a higher level than the existing secondary schools and bring students to the threshold of university studies. The report urged for the early creation of universities to produce local leaders to serve in every area of the Colonial Empire, as a prerequisite to self-government.

There had been resistance on the part of the British Government to pressure to establish West African Universities, and so they did not take any action at that time. Ashby gave three causes for the Colonial attitude. First, the pressures were not consistently supported by the Africans themselves. Horton, Blyden, and Hayford were ahead of their time. The great majority of their countrymen were at first indifferent to education. Secondly, it was the British policy to leave education in Africa to the private enterprise of missionaries or to the budgets of colonial governments.

¹¹J.E. Casely Hayford, Ethiopia Unbound. London: 1911, pp. 194-7.

Finally, there was a conviction on the part of British officials that it would be useless to build a university at that time.¹² The Colonial Government, however, set up two commissions in 1943 to study the matter.

The Elliot Commission¹³ was formed to look into higher education in West Africa. The second commission, the Asquith Commission¹⁴ was also charged with the responsibility to consider the principle which should guide the promotion of higher education in the colonies and explore means whereby universities and other appropriate bodies in the United Kingdom may be able to cooperate with institutions of higher education.¹⁵

After an extensive survey and study, the Asquith Commission made the following recommendations:

1. That in the interest of higher education in the colonies, universities should be established at an early date to serve those areas where they do not exist.

¹²Eric Ashby, op. cit., p. 184.

¹³Colonial Office, Report on the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies. Cmd. 6645, 1945. (London: H.M.S.O.), p. 19. This report is hereafter referred to as the Elliott Commission.

¹⁴Colonial Office, Report on the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies. Cmd. 6647, 1945 (London: H.M.S.O.), p. 1. This report is hereafter referred to as the Asquith Commission.

¹⁵Aditoro, J.E., Handbook of Education in Nigeria. Nigeria: African Education Press, 1971, p. 33.

2. That among vocational studies attention should be paid to teacher training.
3. That an inter-university council (including members from British universities) be set up to guarantee and safeguard academic standards, and to act in advisory capacity.
4. That university colleges be set up first under some form of relationship with London University.
5. That the university colleges be developed into full universities.
6. That the Colonial Universities should be freed from government control.
7. That the British Government should make available under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act, initial grants for the setting up of the colonial universities.¹⁶

The recommendations were unanimous.

The Elliot Commission disagreed among themselves on certain issues.

The majority report stressed the need for increased facilities for higher education in West Africa. It pointed out that the influence of a university was far reaching even in the midst of highly developed communities.¹⁷ It therefore recommended the establishment of universities in Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone to make up the nuclei of these new universities. The commission recommended further that the three

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 33-34

¹⁷L.G. Gowan, Education and National Building in Africa. New York: Frederick A. Praeger 1965, p. 92.

university colleges should have one common medical school in Nigeria and one institute of education in Ghana serving students from the three university colleges, and each university should have the closest possible contact with the universities through the Inter-University Council, already recommended by the Asquith Commission.

The main point of the minority report was that it recommended for the establishment of one West African University in Nigeria. As a result of both Asquith and Elliot Commissions' recommendations, the university college of Ibadan (now Ibadan University) came into existence in 1948. Since then, and more significantly, after Nigerian independence, six more universities were established.

III PRE-INDEPENDENCE DECADE (1950-1960)

When both the Asquith and Elliot Commissions presented their recommendations to the British Parliament in the summer of 1945, few people in Nigeria expected any immediate results. When, therefore, immediate steps were taken to implement the recommendations, it was an interesting surprise to political and educational leaders in the country. This was a time when Britain was fully engrossed with the problems of post-war reconstruction and planning. The nationalist agitators in Nigeria utilized the British reconciliatory mood to ask for a host of other things including preparation of the colony for eventual political independence. For higher education the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development Mission to Nigeria was one of the most significant factors of the period.

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) Mission

At the request of the Nigerian Government and the United Kingdom the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development commissioned a study to appraise the economic development prospects of Nigeria and to recommend practical measures for their realization. A brief review of this mission here is necessary not only because of its importance in helping to shape Nigeria's socio-economic environment, but because of its influence on Nigeria's national education goals.

The IBRD mission, consisting of ten full-time consultants drawn from the Netherlands, Australia, France, Italy, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States, arrived in Nigeria exactly twelve months after the Cambridge Conference¹⁸ and six months after the publication of the Nuffield Foundation Report.¹⁹ Specifically, the mission's task as agreed upon by the Governments of Nigeria and the United Kingdom was:

¹⁸ Cambridge Conference was held from September 8-20, 1952 by a small group of experts to discuss the British Government policies in African Education. For more details see: The British Government, African Education: A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa. London: Oxford University Press, 1953.

¹⁹ The reports of various study groups, one for West Africa and the other for East Central Africa, together with the proceedings of Cambridge Conference, constituted the Nuffield Foundation Report. See also: The British Government, African Education: A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa. London: Oxford University Press, 1953.

. . . To assess the resources available for future development, to study the possibilities for development in the major sectors of the economy and to make recommendations for practical steps to be taken including the timing and coordination of development activities.²⁰

Working in Nigeria from late September 1953 until mid-December, of the same year, members of the Mission travelled extensively in the three regions of Nigeria and reassembled at the headquarters of the Bank for the purpose of writing their report. The Mission's Report was divided into three parts. Part I, which they called the General Report, contained the Mission's principal recommendations for the organization and financing of a five year development program. Part II consisted of a series of Technical Reports on economic and financial resources, agriculture, water resources, industry, mining and power, transportation and communications, and education. Part III contained five appendices consisting mainly of statistical data.

It is beyond the scope of this study to summarize all or even most of the recommendations of a 700 page report; however, it is essential to note in connection with the Mission's report, three points: The first is the Mission's conviction that Nigeria has two of the essentials for a development program, namely manpower and funds, which place her in a more fortunate position than other African countries.²¹

²⁰The Government of Nigeria, The Economic Development of Nigeria, Report of a Mission Organized by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development at the Request of the Governments of Nigeria and the United Kingdom (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1955), p. vii.

²¹Ibid., p. 3

The second is that the Mission's report constituted Nigeria's Development Plan between 1955-1960, a fact attested to by Nigeria's former civilian Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa.²² The third follows from the second, namely, that the chapter of the Mission's Report on education was regarded by the Nigerian Government as the basis for planning and development of education in Nigeria during the five years immediately preceding the attainment of Nigeria's political independence. The educational programs outlined in the Mission's Report are now reviewed.

The World Bank Mission Plan put forth a design for the pace of education development between the periods 1955-1960 and regarded as the most important factor in the education program "the availability of trained teachers",²³ particularly at the primary education level. The Mission pointed to the spectacular demand for education in Nigeria and cautioned that an enrollment explosion at the primary level that gave little consideration to developments in other sectors, particularly teacher training, could result in nothing but disaster for the entire educational system. "The problem", said the Mission, "is to provide a proper balance between the urge for rapid expansion of educational facilities and the need to maintain adequate standards of instruction."²⁴

²²Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Nigerian Speaks. Speeches Made Between 1957 and 1964. Lagos: Longmans of Nigeria, 1964, p. 138.

²³The Government of Nigeria, The Economic Development of Nigeria, op. cit., p. 565.

²⁴Ibid., p. 567.

At the time of the Mission's visit, there were some 42,000 primary school teachers, two thirds of whom did not themselves receive an education beyond the first eight years or any form of specialized training.²⁵ The "qualified" one-third held certificates which varied from two years post primary training in the elementary training centers to the highest sub-graduate certificate, Grade 1 Teachers certificate. In 1953, the output of the elementary training centers was just 1,800, and that of the higher elementary colleges was a little over 800. The Mission recommended that by 1958 the two types of institutions should be producing 3,100 and 1,600 respectively. The effectiveness of the proposal, of course, depended on two crucial factors, namely, that those who were so trained would remain in teaching and, second, that a rapid increase in primary enrollments would not dilute the teaching force.

The expansion of teachers' training facilities would mean securing qualified graduate staff for the teacher training colleges which in turn would involve, in the Nigerian context, producing sufficient number of secondary school leavers and sixth formers that would proceed to university level education. The Mission noted that whereas there were 1.1 million Nigerian children in primary schools, only 31,500 were receiving some kind of post-primary education in a country where secondary education is the basic preparation for meaningful jobs

²⁵Ibid.

and is mandatory for entrance to any type of professional training.

Although the shortage in this area was regarded by the Mission as serious, doubts were expressed whether the desirable target could be realistically proposed:

Although the desirable target would be at least a doubling of the secondary school enrollment by 1960, we doubt whether this is feasible. We have therefore based our financial projections on a 10% annual average increase in each region except in the north, where we believe the great dearth of secondary schools requires an extra effort, and have therefore projected an expansion of 15% per annum.²⁶

The Mission lamented the slow development of technical education in view of the great emphasis it was given in the Ten Year Plan for Development and Welfare. Paradoxically, however, it made broad recommendations for correcting the situation and these had to do with the reorganization and expansion of the existing institutions and the establishment of more trade centers during the plan period so that the eastern and western regions of Nigeria would have two new centers a year and the northern region five per year.

Nigeria's development plans before 1955 made no definite proposals for the development of higher education. The 1944 Plan shifted that responsibility to the Asquith²⁷ and Elliot²⁸ Commissions. The Elliot Commission expressed the views that "The need for highly trained

²⁶The Government of Nigeria, The Economic Development of Nigeria, op. cit., p. 581.

²⁷Report of the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies, Cmd. 6647 London: 1945 (The "Asquith Report").

²⁸Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa, Cmd. 6655. London: 1945 (The "Elliot Report").

Africans is too great to be met in any other way than by training them in their own country",²⁹ a view "fully endorsed" by the World Bank Mission.³⁰ Nevertheless the Mission did not recommend the creation of more universities but envisioned development along the lines of expanding the only existing university and the three branches of the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology. One reason given for this was the high cost of educating a university student in one year in Nigeria which the Mission observed was far more than the cost in England and more than twelve times the cost in India.³¹

At the national level, therefore, the Mission's educational priorities can be summarized thus: 1) a check at a possible explosion of primary enrollments; 2) an expansion of secondary-level education that would help improve the quality of trained teachers; 3) an increase in higher education to the level that it could be accommodated in the nation's educational budget.

Certain limitations of the World Bank Mission Report deserve mention at this point. The first, the diverse international composition

²⁹The Government of Great Britain, Report on Higher Education in West Africa (London: H.M.S.O., 1945), p. 33. On the same principle see also The Government of Great Britain, Report of the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies, Command Paper 6647 (London: H.M.S.O., 1945), pp. 8-16.

³⁰The Government of Nigeria. The Economic Development of Nigeria, op. cit., p. 592.

³¹Ibid., p. 593. Reference was made to The Report of the University Education Commission (Simla: Government of India Press, 1949). The Report indicated that in 1947-48, expenditure of a selected group of residential universities averaged about seventy-five pounds per student. The Mission noted that the estimates of University College of Ibadan, Nigeria, showed that the recurrent expenditure was in "excess of £1,000 per student."

of the mission precluded it from dealing with political realities that Nigeria was going through at that time and the possible consequences of those realities for educational development in Nigeria. Second, the Mission gave no fresh attention to the development of higher education, but linked its proposal with recommendations of previous Commissions. Third, the Mission's proposals, particularly in the areas of technical and university education were too broad, thus occasioning criticisms about the Mission's limited knowledge of the Nigerian social, economic and environmental situations. Finally, the Mission said very little about how the educational programs should be financed and from where the money was to come. The Report that filled these loopholes to a considerable extent was that set up in 1959 by the Federal Government of Nigeria and commonly, though unofficially referred to as The Ashby Report, which is perhaps the best known and the most serious of the Nigerian education plans so far developed and most appropriately titled "Investment in Education", an indication of the new emphasis on the purpose of education.³²

But before considering the Ashby Report and its impact on contemporary higher education in Nigeria it is necessary to digress from the historical treatment of education to consider more fully another vital force in the Nigerian political contest — the emergence of federalism.

³²Investment on Education, op. cit., p. 1.

IV THE CONCEPT OF FEDERALISM

Introduction

Federal system of government is used in political discussion to refer to governmental forms in a number of countries. Birch, writing about the Federations of Canada, Australia, and the United States outlined five common characteristics these federations have:

1. One national and several regional governments.
2. Government is carried on within the framework of a written constitution which may be amended only through special, formal processes of legislation.
3. An independent tribunal is present which adjudicates between the national and regional governments.
4. The division of powers between the national and regional governments is such that each has control over certain sources of revenue so that each, in principle if not in practice, can be financially independent of the other.
5. The division of powers is such that control over most of residuary powers is assigned to the regional governments.³³

After a close examination of social legislation and its concomitant financial readjustments in these countries Birch defined federal system

³³Birch, A.H., Federalism, Finance and Social Legislation in Canada, Australia and the United States, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955, pp. 1-2.

as follows:

A federal system of government is one in which there is a division of power between one general and several regional authorities each of which, in its own sphere, is coordinate with the other, and each of which acts directly on the people through its own administrative agencies.³⁴

The term is used even though the form of association of the component units differs from federation to federation. However, a close examination would reveal the essence of federalism to be that the power needed for the promotion and maintenance of the common welfare is shared between two levels of governments.

One of these governments, referred to as the general (or federal, or central, or union) government, has jurisdiction extending over the whole area of the territory constituting the federation. The other, the unit (or state, provincial, or regional) government has jurisdiction restricted to a portion of the territory of the federation.

Birch observed that the twentieth century evolution of federation has seen the growth of administrative cooperation between central and regional governments--cooperation promoted by the central authority--in those areas assigned to the regions but which have grown to have national importance.³⁵

What Birch meant was that in all federations the political and economic conditions of the postwar world have led to a situation in which it is no longer possible for the general and the unit governments

³⁴Ibid., p. 306.

³⁵Ibid., p. 306.

to maintain their independence rigidly. The newer federations, of which Nigeria is one, recognize that such a watertight compartmentalization, if not impossible, is at least undesirable, and so provide for co-operative relationships between the two levels of government. For the purposes of this study, Birch's definition of federalism is appropriate.

Federalism: Origin and Significance

In any discussion of the origin and purposes of federalism attention may well be paid to the twin questions of the desirability of, and the necessity for, a federal union. Why do the units of a federation decide to come so close and no closer? As far as the desirability goes, the question is academic inasmuch as the option of a unitary government has seldom been available to the constitution-makers of existing federations.³⁶ The necessity for a federal arrangement seems, then, to be a more pertinent question, and to this we must turn.

In regard to the appearance of federal systems, A.V. Dicey has pointed out two conditions for the formation of a federation. There must be, on the one hand, "a body of countries. . . so closely connected by locality, by history, by race, or the like, as to be capable of bearing in the eyes of their inhabitants an impression of common nationality". On the other hand, there must exist "a very peculiar state of sentiment among the inhabitants of the countries which it is proposed

³⁶A.W. Macmahon, "The Problems of Federalism: A Survey", in A.W. Macmahon (ed.), Federalism: Mature and Emergent (New York: 1962), p. 5.

to unite. They must desire union, and must not desire unity."³⁷

This statement has been criticized as dealing more with resultant attitudes than with the origin of federations.³⁸ What is the reason for the occurrence at particular places and points in history of so peculiar a state of sentiment? The problem has two aspects: a will to associate, and a resistance to unity.

William Riker had identified two essential conditions encouraging a willingness to federate: an 'expansion condition', and a 'military condition'. The first refers to a situation in which a group of politicians wish to expand the territory under their control either "to meet an external military or diplomatic threat or to prepare for military or diplomatic aggression".³⁹ The second condition refers to the willingness of the politicians who, giving up part of their independence, accept the offer to federate either because "they desire protection from an external threat or they desire to participate in the potential aggression of the federation".⁴⁰ In all this, of course, there is the assumption that there is some interest that is common to the prospective partners in the federation.

In reference to the resistance to unity, it has been observed

³⁷A.V. Dicey, Introduction to the Study of the Law of the Constitution (8th ed., London: 1915), p. 137.

³⁸Macmahon, op. cit., p. 6.

³⁹William H. Riker, Federalism: Origin, Operation, Significance (Boston and Toronto: 1964), pp. 15-16.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 6.

that a striking proportion of existing federations owe the adoption of a federal form of government to the conditions of colonial development.⁴¹ The patterns of colonial settlement or occupation have initially been fragmented. Isolated areas with difficult communications were often parcelled out by royal decree or else occupied by trading companies in a haphazard way. In the later course of events, developments tended to radiate outwards from these isolated clusters which eventually linked up with neighbouring areas. Thus, "centers of attention, action, leadership and loyalty congealed before independence".⁴² The practice of using indigenous rulers in a system of indirect colonial administration had a similar effect.

It should be noted here that to identify the patterns of colonial settlement and administration as being, in part, responsible for the federal solution is not to underplay the role of inherent diversities. In some countries such diversities were of greater account than the circumstances of colonial administration, and often both were at work.

In Nigeria, ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious diversities played significant role in the federal solution. The effects of these diversities in Nigeria's social and economic development will be discussed in Chapter 5.

⁴¹ Macmahon, op. cit., pp. 6-8.

⁴² Ibid., p. 7.

V THE GROWTH OF FEDERAL SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT IN NIGERIA

The first in a series of constitutions which culminated in a truly federal government for Nigeria was the "Richards" Constitution⁴³ (after the Governor). This was, essentially, a unitary constitution. Although it created regional councils based on a three-region structure, actual power lay with a central legislature. The regions were only administrative units: they could neither raise revenue nor appropriate funds, and were empowered only to approve estimates of regional expenditure.

As far as education was concerned, an anomalous situation arose, in that education was classed as a "regional" service even though educational expenditure was defrayed from central funds. Policy, however, remained under central direction.

The Richards Constitution, originally meant to last for nine years, lasted in fact only until 1951. It had been imposed by the British and there was wide-spread opposition to it on that ground by the articulate elements of the Nigerian people, so that it was never a success. Consequently, the next governor, Sir John Macpherson, announced preparations for a new constitution to be fashioned, this time by the Nigerian political leaders themselves. The Macpherson Constitution⁴⁴

⁴³ Nigeria Sessional Paper, No. 4, 1945, Cmd. 6569, 1945.

⁴⁴ Nigeria (Constitution) Order-in-Council, 1951.

which followed extended the regionalization process a step further. Each regional legislature was empowered to enact legislation (in such subjects as education, health, and agriculture) to be effective within its area of jurisdiction, with the proviso that such regional legislation not be inconsistent with the overall national interest. The central Legislature could legislate on all topics, including those assigned to the regions. This meant, practically, that the constitution could be worked unitarily or federally, depending on those who operated it. The proceedings of the conference that made the proposals embodied in the new constitution indicated the strength of regional feeling.⁴⁵

It is clear from a reading of the conference report that the Nigerian politicians made no attempt to secure a unitary constitution. One of the participants⁴⁶ adequately summed up the prevailing atmosphere: "We are always asking for autonomy in each region. . .Everybody is thinking about his region. Nobody seems to be concerned for a moment about the centre".

Fear of domination was the underlying current. The representatives of the regions tried to secure for their regions freedom from domination by others. The North, in particular, was apprehensive lest the other parts of the country should dominate it on account of

⁴⁵Proceedings of the General Conference on Review of the Constitution, January, 1950 (Lagos: 1950).

⁴⁶C.D. Onyeama, Ibid., pp. 98-98.

their advantage in education.⁴⁷ In any event, the regions secured increased autonomy.

Under their constitution the anomalous position of education continued. Whereas regional policy in education (e.g. expansion of the School System) was the responsibility of the regional governments, education was made a charge on central funds.⁴⁸ This raised two difficulties:

- (i) How is it possible to reconcile the conception of national grant-in-aid regulations laying in effect an obligation, if not an actual charge, on Nigerian revenues with the conception of education as a 'regional' service?
- (ii) More particularly, how can such regulations and their financial consequence be applied as a matter of course to a Region (the Eastern Region) which is already receiving more by way of regional allocation than is due to it on the principle of proportionate derivation?

The answer to these questions could be found either in a unitary constitution, or else a truly federal one. The political circumstances

⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 63-69; 131-2.

⁴⁸S. Philipson, Grant-In-Aid of Education in Nigeria: A Review with Recommendations. Lagos: 1948, p. 69.

were dictating the adoption of the latter course of action.

The next constitution,⁴⁹ the "Lyttelton" Constitution (after the Secretary of State for the Colonies) ushered in thoroughgoing federalism in 1954. As a matter of fact, this constituted the kernel of all later instruments, as there was no major departure from its principles in subsequent revisions of the constitution. The division of powers between the centre and the regions followed the usual principle of leaving matters of general and national importance to the Federal Government, and social policy to the regions. Accordingly, the Federal Government was given executive control over external affairs, defence, most aspects of Nigerian economic policy and the regulation of inter-regional commerce. Higher Education, among other subjects, was on the "concurrent" list, while the residuum, including such expensive items as education, agriculture, and health went to the regions.

A fiscal commission appointed to make recommendations on revenue allocation based its recommendations on the principle that "the fiscal stability of the Federal centre must be the main guarantee of financial stability of Nigeria as a whole, and that by its strength and solvency the credit-worthiness of the country will be appraised."⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Report by the Conference on Nigerian Constitution, Held in London in July and August 1953, Cmd. 834, 1953; and Report by the Resumed Conference on the Nigerian Constitution Held in Lagos in January and February 1954, Cmd. 9059, 1954.

⁵⁰ Nigeria, Report of the Fiscal Commission, Cmd. 481 (1958).

Education in the regions⁵¹ became the responsibility of each regional government, both as to policy and financing. Each region could now plan its education schemes in relation to its revenues. In the Federal Territory of Lagos, the Federal Government retained direct responsibility. Existing higher education centres, including University College, Ibadan, the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology, the University Teaching Hospital, etc., were assigned to the Federal Government, but the subject of higher education was itself "concurrent".

Under the new scheme the functions performed by the (Federal) Inspector-General of Education were transferred to Regional Chief Inspectors (in Lagos, to a Chief Education Officer). The Central Board of Education disappeared, its duties taken over by the Regional Boards of Education. A departmental official described the position resulting from these changes as follows:

Various administrative links with the Centre, such as those concerned with promotions, appointments, the certification of teachers, the control of examinations. . . were finally severed to meet the circumstances of the new Federation. . . The activities of the (Educational) Department are now the sole responsibility of the⁵² Minister of Education in the Regional Government.

⁵¹ Nigeria (Constitution) Order-in-Council, 1954, Adaptation of Laws Order 1954 (L.N. 131 of 1954).

⁵² Northern Region. Annual Report of the Education Department, 1954-55, p. 1.

Education in the regions became part of the regional public services which were themselves regionalized. The decision to regionalize the public service stemmed, of course, from the decision to set up thoroughgoing federalism. Many of the ablest civil servants in the erstwhile unitary public service elected to leave the federation for their home regions where the prospects for promotion seems brighter on account of the faster pace of Nigerianization in the regions.

VI CONTEMPORARY ERA

Introduction

On independence (1960), not only was there an accelerated rate of development, it was also felt that there was need for radical thinking and planning in the educational system if the country was to meet the challenges which invariably faced a new state. Accordingly, in the year before and after independence a series of high-powered commissions and committees were appointed in April, 1959, by the Federal Minister of Education to "conduct an investigation into Nigeria's needs in the field of Post School Certificate and Higher Education over the next twenty years."⁵³

⁵³Investment in Education. Report on the Commission on Post School Certificate and Higher Education in Nigeria. Lagos: Federal Minister of Education. 1960, p. 2.

The Commission's chairman was Sir Eric Ashby, Master of Clare College, Cambridge University, England. The Commission's Report was published during Nigeria's first month of independence, under the title "Investment on Education". It has since become the most quoted document in Nigerian education.

The Ashby Report

A detailed study of the Ashby Report requires a brief examination of the Manpower Study prepared for the Commission by Professor Frederick Harbison of Industrial Relation Section, Princeton University, whose study was published in full as a chapter in the Ashby Report. Harbison's task was to draw a rough sketch of Nigeria's requirements for high level manpower over a period of ten years and to outline the problems which were likely to be faced in the generation of that manpower. He quickly saw two factors limiting human resource development--capital and high-level manpower--and the latter more difficult to secure:

Of all the resources required for economic development, high-level manpower requires the longest "lead-time" for creation. Modern dams, power stations, textile factories or steel mills can be constructed within a few years. But it takes between 10 and 15 years to develop managers, the administrators, and the engineers to operate them. Schools and College buildings can be erected in a matter of months; but it requires decades to develop high-level teachers and professors.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 50.

Viewing education in three stages--primary, intermediate and higher education--Harbison concluded that, "Nigeria's most urgent need in the near future is for the expansion of intermediate education," and that in the case of shortage of funds, "this should take priority over expansion in university education within the federation."⁵⁵

The goal of Higher Education in Nigeria between 1960-1970 was equally well stated: "The 10-year objective of the Federation should be to develop its system of higher education to a point where employment of expatriates on any sizeable scale becomes unnecessary after 1970."⁵⁶ Harbison went on to warn against over-investing in higher education and overcrowding the universities with cohorts on "non-science" education:

In Nigeria there may be a tendency, as in India, and to a lesser extent in Egypt, to over-invest in education in the law and arts and to under-invest in engineering, agriculture and science. . . . In Egypt, for example, over two-thirds of the staff members and expenditure in university education are in the Faculties of Science, Medicine, Engineering, Agriculture and Veterinary Medicine. Yet less than 40% of the total number of students are registered in these fields. . . . This factor needs to be given serious attention in planning higher education in Nigeria as well as in the counselling of the young people regarding future career opportunities within their country.⁵⁷

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 64.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Ibid.

Still stressing the emphasis on the intermediate education, Harbison went further to discourage rapid expansion at primary level and to press the case for qualified teachers:

From the standpoint of economic development, the target set forth for primary school expansion is of lesser priority than all other targets presented in this report. Nigeria could develop over the next ten years the number of persons required in the high-level manpower category as well as the number of persons with secondary education or trade training without substantial expansion of the primary school system. For other reasons, however, the pressures operating throughout the Federation may be such as to make this expansion almost mandatory. But certainly, the need for qualified teachers is much greater in secondary, trade and technical schools, and these should be found first before attempting to develop the relatively large number of primary teachers which would be required.⁵⁸

The Nigerian Government specifically requested the Ashby Commission "to conduct an investigation into Nigeria's needs in the field of Post-School Certificate and Higher Education over the next twenty years."⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 60

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 2.

The membership of the Commission⁶⁰ and the extensive field work the Commission undertook⁶¹ were good indicators of the amount of interest that was developing in Nigerian education.

The overwhelmingly "Western" composition of the Commission explains the nature of the recommendations, and the fact that eight out of the nine Commissioners belonged to the "intellectual" class further explains the elitist nature of those recommendations. Obsessed with

⁶⁰The Ashby Commission consisted of an equal number of members drawn from Britain, Nigeria and the United States, and of men with outstanding experience in higher educational planning, some of whom were themselves of higher institutions: Sir Eric Ashby (Master of Clare College, Cambridge University and former President and Vice-Chancellor of Queen's University of Belfast: Chairman of the Commission); Professor Kenneth Dike (Principal and later Vice-Chancellor, University of Ibadan, Nigeria); Professor G. Gustavson (Former Chancellor, University of Nebraska and President, Fund for the Resources of the Future Inc.); Professor H.W. Hannah (Associate Dean of Agriculture and Professor of Agriculture Law, University of Illinois); Shettima Kashim (former Nigerian Minister for Social Services and Senator); Professor F. Keppel (Dean of the Graduate School of Education, Harvard University); Professor J.F. Lockwood (former Vice-Chancellor, University of London and Master of Birkbeck College); Dr. S.D. Onabamiro (Senior Research Fellow, University of Ibadan and Minister of Education, Western Region); Dr. G. E. Watts (Principal, Brighton Technical College).

⁶¹The Commission visited Great Britain and the United States. In the United Kingdom visits were made to universities and technical colleges in London, Cambridge, Brighton and Reading. In the United States members of the Commission visited higher education institutions in New York, Boston, Princeton, Washington, East Lansing, Chicago, Urbana, San Francisco and Los Angeles. In addition the Commission went to Ghana and Togoland and travelled extensively within Nigeria.

the desire to create a Western-oriented elite of qualified professionals that would manage Nigeria's post-independence politico-economic framework, the Commissioners were understandably not interested in radical ventures such as have evolved in certain Eastern countries.

The presence of American educators on the commission, the fact that the major background paper for the Commission was prepared by an American economist, and the fact that the financing of the Commission's operations was underwritten by an American Foundation, were hints that what would result out of the commission's work would definitely not be a prescription solely based on the British model and experience. However, varied as the composition of the Commission may seem, the "massive" conclusions and recommendations were narrowly conceived with much bias for Anglo-American experience and resources. Thus, commentators like Professor Nicol⁶² argued that the Commission would have benefited more from the experience of countries like Japan, China and the Soviet Union than of Britain and the United States for the simple reason that the appointment of the Commission was inspired by a desire to make plans for quick modernization and technical development.⁶³ The same commentator noted that a German should

⁶²Professor D. Nicol, former Vice-Chancellor, University of Sierra Leone and current Director of the United Nations Training and Research Commission was one of the earliest commentators on the Ashby Report. The present reference is to his article, "The Realities of Ashby's Vision II: An African View," Universities Quarterly, 15, 4 (Sept. 1969).

⁶³Ibid., p. 374.

have been seated with or in preference to the Briton who acted on the Commission as an expert of technological education.⁶⁴

The Ashby Commission was uninhibited by the political realities that Nigeria was facing in 1959 in its assessment of Nigeria's educational needs (see Chapter 5 for Federal-State relation). It was not interested in the "cautious and modest" proposal, but in the program for educational development that would be "Massive and expensive", for which "the Nigerian people will have to forego other things they may want so that every available penny is invested in education."⁶⁵ Their vision of Nigeria of 1980 was that of:

. . . (A) nation of some fifty million people, with industries, oil, and a well-developed agriculture, intimately associated with other free African countries on either side of its borders; a voice to be listened to in the Christian and the Moslem worlds; a nation which is taking its place in a technological civilization with its own airways, its own organs of mass communication, its research institutes.⁶⁶

The Ashby Commission shared Harbison's view on human resource development, emphasizing further that Nigeria's most valued resources were her young people and expenditure on their education should be "a first charge upon the nation's finances."⁶⁷ The Ashby Plan proposed an educational machine that would produce at least 80,000 people with post-secondary education by 1970. Three principles were to guide

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 3.

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Ibid.

the attainment of that objective:

1. The pattern of education must produce enough students with post-secondary education to satisfy the nation's needs for high-level manpower.

2. The pattern of education must be properly balanced as between primary, secondary and post-secondary education.

3. It must narrow down the gap between educational opportunities in the North and the South without producing an unbalanced education system in the North.⁶⁸

Although its terms of reference did not include primary education, the Commission examined the role of that level of education in the framework it developed. As expected, it concluded that "the primary schools already have enough places to supply the recruits the country will need in the late sixties and early seventies."⁶⁹ Because the southern regions were already committed to universal primary education, the Commission was not interested in pressing for a retreat and such a recommendation could in fact have been beyond the Commission's terms of reference. However, in the North, where no such commitment existed, the Commission suggested enrolment ratio be raised from 9% that it was in 1960 to 25% by 1970, which implied that universal primary education along the lines in the South was clearly not advisable.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 2.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 9.

Two areas in which the Commission showed considerable interest were secondary education (the Sixth Form) and the training of Teachers of intermediate status. The main function of the Sixth Form as the Commission saw it was that they should serve as "nurseries for universities and some other forms of higher professional training."⁷⁰ In views expressed by Harbison, which the Commission also endorsed, this level represented an area of education budgets. Accordingly, the Commission made two positive recommendations in the area of secondary education in order to provide an adequate flow of recruits for post secondary education:

1. That increase in secondary grammar intake should be effected from the level of 12,000 per annum that it was in 1958 to more than 30,000 in 1970.

2. The secondary grammar schools should turn out cohorts not less than 29,000 a year, 21,000 of whom would drop out for employment while the balance of 8,000 would proceed to the Sixth Form and 500 should enter teaching careers.⁷¹

On critical question of teacher training, the Commission observed, like others before it, that "something like nine-tenths of primary school teachers and over half the secondary school teachers are not adequately or fully trained for their work."⁷² The problem was

⁷⁰The Government of Nigeria, *Investment in Education*, op. cit.

⁷¹Ibid., p. 4.

⁷²Ibid., p. 41.

twofold: the upgrading of the seriously deficient members of the teaching force, and the supply of trained teaching personnel in the light of the proposed expansion particularly at the secondary level. Upgrading at the primary level implied an immediate injection of remedial education to thousands⁷³ of the primary school teachers whom the commission suggested should be trained at different centres for vacation courses. The ultimate goal was that by 1970, at least one teacher in fifteen in the primary schools should be Grade 1. Upgrading at the secondary level was also to take the form of vacation courses lasting two months in the subject taught to school certificate level. The target by 1970 was to make the teaching staff in secondary schools, technical institutes and teacher training colleges "half graduate and half Grade 1."⁷⁴

Of particular significance were the programs for teacher supply. The Commission strongly recommended that teachers with Grade 1 or equivalent status should be produced at the rate of 3,000 per year as a first objective so that by 1970, a total of 18,000 would have been produced. Of the 3,000 produced in the first instance, 2,000 would enter secondary school teaching and 1,000 would be in the primary school. The training of this level of teachers was regarded as imperative and the commission concluded that "if this figure was not reached, the whole foundation of Nigerian education, and hence

⁷³Ibid., p. 15.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 42.

in the long run, of Nigerian economy will be insecure.⁷⁵ As for graduate teachers, their training was reserved for the universities which were to introduce the new degree of Bachelor in Education. On the whole, an annual output of 800 graduates was proposed so that 8,000 would have been produced by 1970.

The Commission, in emphasizing a new direction for technical education, criticized "the strong bias toward traditional literary and academic subjects."⁷⁶ Working on Harbison's estimate that Nigeria would need 500 professional engineers a year, the Commission hypothesized that at least five or six technicians would be needed for every professional engineer and suggested that technicians should be produced at the rate of 2,500 per annum. The entrants to the technical schools would be drawn from the 8,000 secondary school leavers whom the Commission had anticipated would proceed to some form of post-secondary education.

The whole purpose of the Commission's recommendation on "intermediate education" was to build a base for university education. At the time of the Commission, the output of graduates in Nigeria was 300. Harbison suggested an output of 2,000 graduates a year by 1970, a suggestion which the commission considered as modest, but accepted

⁷⁵The Government of Nigeria, *Investment in Education*, op. cit., p. 16.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 31.

all the same as the first objective for Nigeria's universities.

We emphasize that a student population of 7,500 cannot be more than just a first objective to be reached before 1970. We have no doubt whatever that in the decade 1970-1980, the student population must exceed this if Nigeria is to have all the graduates she needs; we have in mind a population considerably exceeding 10,000.⁷⁷

Two more universities⁷⁸ were thus proposed in addition to the existing ones at Ibadan and Nsukka. It was considered essential that enrolment in the universities should reflect national needs in terms of technical and non-technical fields and detailed plans were led out for the development of each university and the range of studies that they should all be emphasizing. To keep constant watch on the country's manpower needs, Ashby recommended the establishment of an inter-regional Manpower Board to periodically forecast the national man-power needs and a National Universities Commission to investigate proposals for the establishment of new universities.

There is no doubt that the Ashby Commission was more concerned with the outputs of Nigerian universities than with anything else. No sooner had the Report been published than reaction to it began

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 22

⁷⁸The two new universities proposed were for Lagos and Zaria. The Commission shifted the consideration of the University of Ife on the proposed National Universities Commission.

to appear in different quarters⁷⁹ and at least one major report on educational development elsewhere in Africa reflected the influence of the work of the Ashby Commission.⁸⁰ Ashby's Report was accepted and adopted by the Nigerian Government as the basis for future higher educational development. Two years after the Report, five universities were in operation instead of the three recommended.

⁷⁹Among the first to comment on it was a Ford Foundation Consultant, Mr. Judson Shaplin, who was visiting Nigeria with a mission to study the teacher-training of Nigerian education for the purpose of making recommendations to the Ford Foundation as to what the Foundation could do to help. See J. Shaplin, "The Realities of Ashby's Vision." *Universities Quarterly*, XV, 3 (June, 1961), 229-238. A second commentary was from Professor D. Nicol, "The Realities of Ashby's Vision II, An African View," *Universities Quarterly*, XV, 1 (September, 1961). One recent commentary is by Anthony Asiawaju, "Ashby Revisited," *African Studies Review*, XV, 1 (April, 1972).

⁸⁰An example was the Hunter Report on High-Level Manpower in East Africa. By accident or design, Professor F.H. Harbison of the Ashby Report was also consultant to the East African Manpower Study.

VII SUMMARY

In this chapter the pioneering role of the early Christian missions to establish schools in Nigeria was briefly examined. It was disclosed that the early Christian missions clearly recognized the educational aspect of evangelization and lost no time in establishing schools. From the survey of early missionary activities in Nigeria, one draws the easy inference that the salvation of African soul was the primary object of the missionary efforts, however, each missionary organization recognized the fact that the primary objective could not be attained without some form of education.

Following the pioneering work of the early Christian missions in establishing schools in Nigeria, the chapter examined the colonial policy on higher education from 1872 to 1948. One of the grievances frequently expressed by the early nationalists and protest groups in Nigeria, was the lack of opportunities for higher education in the country during the colonial administration. So great was their concern for higher education, that, Britain took a number of far reaching steps to re-organize its educational system at home and to make provision for higher education in her colonies. In 1943 two important commissions were appointed.

The first commission was appointed under the chairmanship of Walter Elliot to report on the organization and facilities of the existing centers of higher education in the British West Africa and

to make recommendation regarding future university development in that area.

The second commission was appointed under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice Asquith to consider the principles which should guide the promotion of higher education and the development of universities in the colonies. One of the outcomes of these commissions was the establishment of Yaba College in Lagos.

The chapter further discussed the contemporary policy of Nigerian high level manpower development. It was observed that, following the recognized need for providing manpower to carry out the complex and onerous work of development, the Federal Government of Nigeria, in 1959, after consultation with the regional governments, appointed a commission to investigate into Nigeria's need in the field of post-secondary and higher education. Included in the Commission's major recommendations, accepted by the Federal Government, were the establishment of an inter-regional Manpower Board for the purpose of forecasting Nigeria's manpower needs and advising the government on how these needs can be met; the establishment of a National Universities Commission to investigate all the proposals for the establishment of universities; an annual output of at least 2,000 graduates. Three new universities were to be established in order to make this output possible. The three new universities were to be located in Ibadan, Northern Region and Eastern Region. However, in consonant with the competition among and between the Regions which characterize Nigerian Federal relationship, two years after the Ashby Report was accepted,

each Region had started a university within its regional boundary (Chapter 8).

CHAPTER 5

POLICY ENVIRONMENT: SOCIAL, CULTURAL, POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS RELATIONSHIPS

Introduction

"One cannot", as Morton Kroll had noted "separate a public policy from the milieu in which it is set."¹ Rather, it is necessary in any policy study ". . . to identify the general feature and dynamics of the policy environment, as well as those particular factors which appear to have a direct bearing on the policy itself."²

The ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious diversities that characterize Nigeria are well known. It is estimated that there are, in all, ten major tribal groups and 239 smaller ones, and among them there is a wide variation in political organization, from highly centralized states to rather loosely organized villages or village groups.³ One of the essential conditions for the formation of a federal union, according to K.C. Wheare, is that "there should be areas or an area in which each nationality is at least in a majority so that there can be a state or states in the federation to which each nationality

¹Morton Kroll, "Policy and Administration", p. 9.

²Ibid.

³James S. Coleman, Nigeria: Background to Nationalism (Berkeley and Los Angeles: 1960), pp. 18-32.

can look as to a motherland or national home."⁴ This condition is satisfied to a great extent in that each region is dominated by a major tribe. The Hausa, the Ibo, and the Yoruba are dominant in Northern, Eastern and Western Regions respectively, although there are significant minority groups in each region. These tribal differences are accompanied by differences in culture and language.

This chapter examines social, cultural, political and religious differences of the Nigerian people that might have influenced the course and direction of Nigerian higher education (research problems #1 and #2).

I THE TRIBE, THE PARTY AND THE REGION

Nigeria is the most populous country of Africa with a population of approximately sixty-million people which is nearly half the population of all West Africa. Within its 356,500 square miles live people representing a mixture of various cultural and ethnic strains derived from successive migrations of Arab-Berber stock from the north-west and north-east and the indigenous Negro peoples of the more humid areas of the south. The density of population to the square miles varies considerably, from over 900 persons to the square mile in some parts of the south-east, to virtual absence in large sectors of the central region. Average density is estimated at 158 persons to

⁴ K.C. Wheare, "Federalism in the Making of Nations," in Macmahon, op. cit., p. 32.

to the square mile.⁵

Reference has been made (Chapter 4) to the aspects of public policy which tend to perpetuate the sharp cultural differences among the different tribal groups. The differential penetration of westernizing influences and their uneven impact have also been identified as contributing to the inter-group tensions in the country.

Of the Nigerian tribes, the Yoruba were the first to come in contact with the Western world. In view of the head start which the Yoruba had, it was inevitable that they should be found occupying the overwhelming majority of the higher civil service positions open to Africans while also dominating the business, professional and political life of the country.⁶ In social and economic development, therefore, they were far ahead of all other Nigerian groups. Among the rest, too, there were gradations on the scale of development both socially and educationally, the pattern again following the timing of the western contact and the degree of receptivity to western influences of the group concerned.

As communications improved and contact between the different peoples increased, such group differences as existed could not but be perceived. When Nigeria entered the nationalist phase, these differences on the scale of modernity caught the awareness of the politically-

⁵ Hance, William A., The Geography of Modern Africa. New York: Columbia University Press, 1964, pp. 169-170.

⁶ Ezera, K., Constitutional Development in Nigeria. Cambridge University Press, 1964. p. 90.

conscious leaders of the various ethnic groups. Naturally, the less developed groups strove to catch up with the more advanced ones who, in turn, equally naturally, made renewed efforts to maintain their initial advantage. As Coleman puts it:⁷

. . . Unevenness in development sharpened the awareness of group and regional differentiation which in turn intensified intergroup and interregional competition and tensions. The decisively important feature of this phenomenon, however, was that in most instances the appeal for united action for self-improvement was made to the kinship, tribal group, or nationality, and, to a limited extent, the region.

In the South the struggle was mainly between the Yoruba and the rest (in particular, the Ibo); in the country as a whole it was between the South and the Moslem North and, in each region, between the dominant tribe and the minority groups.⁸

Growth of Ibo Nationalism

The Ibo (and the Ibibio) were the first to challenge the Yoruba lead. Beginning in the year 1930, the Ibo organized themselves in towns, village and clan "improvement unions," and, individually and in these groups, began to send some of their sons abroad for higher education.⁹ The result of these efforts was that by about 1950 the Ibo

⁷ Coleman, Nigeria, p. 330.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 330-331.

⁹ Ibid., p. 34; Ezera, op. cit., p. 90.

had largely eliminated the gap between them and the Yoruba---at least insofar as education was concerned.¹⁰ "It is therefore not surprising", as Ezera remarked, "that the Yoruba, who had hitherto held complete sway over Nigerian public affairs, felt that they were being eclipsed and reacted by alleging that a systematic attempt was being made to bring about 'Ibo domination'."¹¹ The other Nigerian tribal groups responded with similar organizations of their own, and so, out of unevenness of Nigerian social and economic development, arose the elements of tribal rivalry and animosity that have plagued the politics of the country.

The Yoruba Response

The Egbe Omo Oduduwa¹² was founded in London in 1945, a Pan-Yoruba cultural organization. Among the founders was Obafemi Awolowo, at the time a law student in London. For a while the organization functioned only in London, and it was not until Awolowo's return to Nigeria in 1948 that it became established in Nigeria. Its aims were cultural, and it was intended, among other things, ". . . to foster the study of the Yoruba language, culture and history . . . to plan for the improvement of educational facilities . . . to unite the various clans and tribes in Yorubaland and generally create and

¹⁰ Coleman, Nigeria, p. 341.

¹¹ Ezera, op. cit., p. 90.

¹² Society of the Descendants of Oduduwa (mythical ancestor of the Yoruba).

actively foster the idea of a single nationalism throughout Yorubaland."¹³

Initially, the organization made efforts to avoid being tagged "tribalist", but its efforts were largely unsuccessful. At the society's inaugural conference in June, 1948, Sir Adeyemo Alakija, its president, referred to a "Big Tomorrow" for the Yoruba, declaring: " . . . Yoruba will not be relegated to the background in future."¹⁴ Ibo leaders reacted to this statement with verbal blasts on their own--tribalism in politics was gaining momentum.

The Emergence of the Northern People's Congress

Nor was the connection between tribalism and political power lost upon the North, for here, too, a political party grew out of a Northern cultural organization to win power.

Whereas in the South intergroup tensions had largely been between the Yoruba and the Ibo, here it was the North against the South. The underlying causes of the conflict were the same. The carefully controlled education system did not produce any significant group of unemployed persons such as played an important role in the emergence of nationalism in the South. The few western-educated northerners were absorbed into the native administration services, and were mostly themselves of aristocratic lineages.¹⁵ The British

¹³ Constitution of the Egbe Owo Oduduwa (1948) p. 5-6.

¹⁴ Coleman, Nigeria, p. 346.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 354-355.

officials there did their best to isolate the North from any outside influences. Factors such as these, together with conservative Islamic attitudes and a repressive political system delayed the emergence of nationalism in the North. When, finally, the North was awakened it was to find itself substantially behind the South in terms of education and general social and economic development. Northern nationalism, when it did emerge, came to be directed not against British imperialism, as in the South, but against "southern domination."¹⁶

In 1949, a Pan-Northern Nigerian cultural organization, Jami'yyar Mutanen Arewa (a Northern People's Congress) was founded¹⁷ along the lines of the tribal cultural organizations in the South. Just before the first elections, in the latter part of 1951, to the Northern House of Assembly, the organization was declared a political party, for the purpose of contesting the elections. It won a majority in the House and became the governing party.¹⁸

The overall situation which emerged after the 1951 elections was that each party--the NPC in the North, the N.C.N.C. in the East, and the AG in the West--was supported by the dominant tribe in its region. With this identification of each party with the regional

¹⁶ Ezera, op. cit., p. 94; Coleman, Nigeria, pp. 354-357.

¹⁷ Daily Comet, December 29, 1949.

¹⁸ Ezera, op. cit., p. 96.

majority tribe, the stage was set for the dominating feature of Nigerian politics--tribal nationalism. The implementation of the Macpherson Constitution which permitted strong regional structure undoubtedly hastened the process; by its recognition of the existing regions (based as they were on the major tribes) as the units of the Federation, a certain amount of legitimacy was conferred on the tribes as a unit of competition in the federal scheme. Effect of this will further be seen when, in later chapters, discussing university structure in Nigeria.

The third aspect of intergroup tension--the tension between the dominant tribal groups and the regional minorities is related, essentially, to the trend toward single-party states in the region.

The Trend Toward One-Party States

The ethnic composition of the three-region structure upon which Nigerian tribalism was based has been most adequately described by Buchanan and Pugh in their Land and People in Nigeria. "Not one of the existing Regions," they say, "approaches the ideal of an ethnic unit; rather does each present a dual personality, consisting of 'regional nucleus' occupied more or less by a dominant group--Yoruba in the West, Ibo in the East, Housa-Fulani in the North--with a peripheral zone occupied by minority groups."¹⁹

¹⁹ Buchanan, K.M. and Pugh, J.C., Land and People in Nigeria: the Human Geography of Nigeria and its Environmental Background. London: University of London, 1962, p. 91.

With a few exceptions e.g. little of N.C.N.C. influence in Yorubaland other minority opposition in few ethnic localities, support for the party of the region came mainly from the dominant tribe of the region, while the regional minorities usually found themselves in opposition. The reason for this hostility was essentially the same as for that between Ibo and Yoruba discussed above.

Tribal nationalisms developed among the minority groups so that as self-government approached, movements sprang up among them demanding the creation of separate states for themselves.²⁰ The minority peoples felt a certain sense of oppression and exploitation at the hands of the dominant groups who now controlled the regional governments.

In the Northern Region the demand was for the creation of a "Middle Belt" state, corresponding to the non-Housa areas of the lower North. Similarly, there were demands for the creation of a "Midwest" State in the Western Region, and a "Calabar-Ogoja-Rivers" State in the Eastern Region.²¹ So pronounced were the fears of the minority elements of being dominated by the regional majority tribe that a Commission of Inquiry²² was appointed in 1957 to examine the problem. As a result of the hostility and tension between the regional majorities and their minorities, the major parties could win quite a few seats in the minority area of another region by capitalizing on minority grievances.

²⁰ Ezera, op. cit., p. 245.

²¹ Ibid., p. 245.

²² Willinck Commission; v. Ezera, op. cit., p. 252.

It was not long before the effect of wielding power at the regional level began to tell. Since then, the trend toward "one-party states" in the regions has been unmistakable. In the Northern Region (Table 4), the NPC's share of election wins increased to 97 percent in the period from 1959-64; for the N.C.N.C., it was 91.0 percent in the Eastern Region and 100 percent in the Mid-west at the federal

TABLE 4

THE REGIONS AND THEIR PARTIES, WITH PERCENTAGES OF SEATS
WON IN VARIOUS ELECTIONS FROM 1956 TO 1965^a

Region	1956	1957	1959	1960	1961	Feb.	Dec.	1965
Northern (NPC)			77.0		94.1		97.0	
Eastern (NCNC)	76.0		79.4		86.2			91.0
Western (AG)	60.0	53.2		62.9				
Mid- Western (NCNC) ^b	80.0		80.0	50.0		85.0	100.0	

^aMackintosh, Nigeria Government and Politics, pp. 508-544.

^bIncluding elections held when the Mid-West was a part of the Western Region.

elections of December 1964 and March 1965²³. The only region where the tendency to a one-party state is not clear from the table is the Western Region, and the reason is that a crisis split the ruling Action Group. But with the excision of the Mid-West from the Western Region in 1963, the latter became a homogeneous Yoruba Region, so that alternative bases of appeal (the Tribe) which included the whole region existed. The picture that finally emerged is one in which, tribe, and religion are almost completely co-extensive.

II RELATIONS BETWEEN THE FEDERAL AND REGIONAL GOVERNMENTS

Relations between the Federal and Regional Governments fall broadly into two periods: a period of strong regional autonomy and a corresponding weakness of federal agencies, and a period of increasing federal dominance.

The nature of relations between the Federal and Regional Governments in the early years was determined by the peculiar development of party politics in Nigeria. The Macpherson Constitution of 1951 had provided ministerial responsibility, both in the regions and at the federal centre. However, Chief Obafemi Awolowo and the Sarudana of Sokoto, leaders of their parties, preferred to remain in the regions, and Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, leader of the remaining major party failed to get elected to the central legislature. With all three leaders of the major parties absent from the centre, the Federal Executive and

²³ The East boycotted the December election, but had a "little election" in March, 1965.

Legislature lacked organic character; there was the tendency for the Nigerian members of the Federal Executive Council and legislators to look over their shoulders to their leaders in the regions.²⁴

The 1954 Constitution did not improve the weakness of the centre vis-a-vis the regions; as a matter of fact, the position became worse in several respects. The constitution provided for the appointment of premiers in the regions, but there was no such provision in the centre.²⁵ In regions the party leader became premier, but by contrast the centre still had the character of being composed of regional delegates. As a consequence, the focus of attention was the regions where most of the action seemed to be, for this was where "the politicians made their efforts and sought to prove the worth of their parties to the electorate."²⁶ The final phase constitution-making saw no radical departures from the principles of the 1954 constitution. It did, however, provide for a prime minister and cabinet at the centre, and in September, 1957, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa became the first prime minister of the Federation. But against this gain, the regions became internally self-governing (the East and the West in 1957, and the North in 1959), so that again the regions tended to overshadow the centre.

By 1959, although the Federal Government was still weak the tide

²⁴ John P. Mackintosh, "Federalism in Nigeria" Political Studies, 10, 1962. p. 225.

²⁵ See Ezera, op. cit., pp. 203-4.

²⁶ Mackintosh, Political Studies, p. 225.

had begun to change. No single party emerged with an overall victory in the federal election of 1959, so that a Coalition Government had to be formed comprising the Northern Peoples' Congress and the National Convention of Nigeria and the Cameroons. And, as Mackintosh has observed: "There was no one party committed to support the Federal Government and, as is often the case with coalition, it seemed to be an ill-assorted group of men lacking unity and drive."²⁷ There was still the tendency for members of the Coalition Government to look to the regions. Dr. Okpara (who had succeeded Dr. Azikiwe as leader of the N.C.N.C.) and the Sardauna of Sokoto still stayed behind in the regions. Indeed, "there were constant consultations between the Prime Minister and his NPC colleagues and the Northern leaders in Kaduna (Capital of the Northern Region), so much that many alleged that the Government was in fact being run from the North, with permission for certain proposals occasionally being sought from the East."²⁸

But other factors began to counter the strength of the regions and to give a corresponding measure of prestige to the Federation. Chief Awolowe, the leader of the Action Group, had been elected to the Federal House of Representative in 1959; Dr. Azikiwe had similarly left the Eastern Region for Lagos. And when Nigeria became an independent nation in 1960, influence of the centre began inevitably to increase. Its role in foreign affairs and in general economic

²⁷ Mackintosh, Nigerian Government and Politics, p. 64.

²⁸ Ibid.

development (external assistance and all foreign borrowing were channelled through Federal Agencies) could not but contribute to such a trend.

There were other events which had the effect of altering the power distribution in favour of the Federal Government. A dispute within the Action Group gave the Federal Government an opening to intervene in the West, declare a state of emergency, sack the regional government, and appoint an administrator.²⁹ The unexpected emergency powers of the Federal Government served to increase its stature. At the same time, a fourth region, the Midwestern Region, was created out of the Western Region--an action which not only weakened the West, but also brought into being a weak fourth region.

Furthermore, the blow to the Action Group caused the party to undergo a measure of disintegration, a circumstance which led to a rise in the number of NPC legislators to a point where the NPC now had an absolute majority in the Federal House. This gave the Federal Government a secure base of power, which it had lacked prior to this.³⁰

Economic development, too, made for federal dominance. The fiscal arrangements worked out when the federation was inaugurated had aimed at a measure of regional fiscal autonomy.³¹ In fact, however, while federal revenues grew considerably, regional sources of revenue

²⁹ Ezera, op. cit. pp. 270-278; Mackintosh, Nigerian Government and Politics. pp. 441-460.

³⁰ Mackintosh, Nigerian Government and Politics, pp. 69-70.

³¹ Nigeria. Report of the Fiscal Commission, Cmd. 481 (1958).

proved inelastic and the regions had reached a position where they were relying on federal grants (both statutory and non-statutory) for two-thirds of their expenditures.³²

The launching of a National Development Plan for 1962-1968 emphasized the Federal Government's responsibility for the economic welfare of the country as a whole. On the launching of the programme the Minister of Economic Development declared that "the economic development of Nigeria could no longer depend on the accidental relationship between what each Government decided in respect of economic planning within its own jurisdiction, and that, therefore, every effort should be made to draw up a national plan which would serve the needs of Nigeria as a whole."³³ Planning on this scale involved much co-operation between the governments and led to the casting of the Federal Government in the role of normsetter for the regions.³⁴

III DEVELOPMENT PLANS

The First National Development Plan

The attainment of political independence in 1960 had at least two major implications for Development Plans in Nigeria. First, the hitherto restrictive constitutional provisions which also limited the

³² Fiscal Review Commission (the Binns Report) (Lagos: 1965), pp. 42-63.

³³ Nigeria, Parliamentary Debates (Wednesday, March 28, 1962), co. 387.

³⁴ Mackintosh, Nigerian Government and Politics, pp. 71-82.

extent to which Development Plans could go has been removed once and for all, and the Federal Government became progressively more confident and assertive. Second, once political independence was achieved, it followed that the country could look for technical and financial assistance for its Development Plans from other countries and not necessarily from Britain exclusively.

This desire to diversify Nigeria's international contacts for development was first reflected in the composition of the team that framed Nigeria's first post-independence Development Plan. The technical assistance was provided by the Ford Foundation of the United States in the form of two American economists, Professor W.F. Stolper and Dr. L.M. Hansen, both of whom took positions in the Federal Ministry of Economic Development at the Economic Planning Unit: the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry was a Briton, and the Economic Adviser to the Prime Minister was an Indian loaned to the Nigerian Government by the International Bank. Although the Plan's principal architect was Professor Stolper, the Plan Program that emerged was evidently not exclusively the work of one man. The debates that took place in the Planning Committee and the shades of opinion expressed reflected fundamental differences in general development approaches.³⁵

³⁵ Aboyade, O., Foundations of an African Economy: A Study of Investment and Growth in Nigeria (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1966), p. 156.

As in the 1955-1960 Plan, the 1962-1968 Plan defined the Nation's Planning goals and left the regions to focus on specific priorities.

The overall national goals of the Plan were more forcefully expressed than before:

The goals are many and varied: the economy is to grow as fast as possible but at least at the average rate of 4 percent which exceeds the average compound rate of 3.9 percent per annum that was achieved during the past 10 years; it is proposed to accelerate education of all kinds and at all levels, but primarily the education of technical and managerial manpower; resources are to be shifted more and more into the enlargement of the directly productive capacity of the economy to provide the basis for the desirable expansion of health and education facilities.³⁶

The general statement presented in the Plan on education advocated "an education programme designed to increase as rapidly and as economically as possible the high-level manpower which is indispensable to accelerated development."³⁷

The Federal program set three priorities for itself. Under "Priority A" the government included the reinforcement of secondary education and the development of teacher training. The first concern in "Priority B" was the improvement of the quality of Primary Education through the building of better classrooms and the introduction of modern aids to teaching, while "Priority C" stressed assistance to the Regional Universities.³⁸

³⁶ The Government of Nigeria, National Development Plan: 1962-1968 (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Economic Development, 1962), p. 21.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 87.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 90.

As was true of previous Plans, the Regional Plans varied in emphasis and priorities. The Northern Regional Government White Paper, published as a reaction to the Ashby Report, confessed that educational development in the Region had proceeded in the past "towards a vague and unspecified goal".³⁹ A second limitation in the past, which the White Paper noted was the fact that this development had been "firmly in some areas and haltingly in others".⁴⁰ Thus the Regional Educational Plan set two tasks before the government.

In the first place it must ensure that educational facilities are spread more evenly over the Region by actively encouraging the growth of schools in those areas which have fallen behind in the race. Secondly, it must see that all parts of the educational system develop proportionately and simultaneously and as economically as possible, in order that the needs of the community may be met.⁴¹

The Regional Plan endorsed on the whole the recommendations set forth by the Ashby Commission for educational development up until 1970:

1. Twenty-eight percent of all children to complete primary education.
2. Ten percent of all children completing primary schooling to proceed to secondary education.

³⁹ The Government of Northern Nigeria, White Paper on Educational Development in Northern Nigeria (Kaduna: Government Printer, 1961), 1961), p. 1.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 2.

3. Thirty percent of those completing the secondary grammar school course should go for higher training including courses at a university.⁴²

A detailed discussion of regional plans is not intended at this point.

The National Education Plan 1970-1974

Since 1970 was the target for most of Nigeria's educational projections, it is pertinent at this point to describe generally certain developments during this period which had implications for shaping Nigerian policy environment and educational planning, and briefly examine the priorities set forth in the National Education Plan 1970-1974. With the outbreak of the national crisis in 1966, the two planning machineries, the National Economic Council and the Joint Planning Committee, because of the very nature of their membership, disappeared. In March 1966, the new military administration established the National Economic Planning Advisory Group whose membership⁴³ was based on individual ability, knowledge and experience as opposed to regional representation. With the renewed political crisis of July 1966 (the second military takeover within eight months), the activities of the Group lapsed. The Group's major achievements were the 1966-1967 Capital Estimates it prepared and the Guide-

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ The Group consisted of ten members and the Chairman was Chief S.O. Adebó (former Nigerian ambassador to the United Nations and Executive Director of the United Nations Training and Research Commission); Dr. P.N.C. Okigbo, who was then Economic Adviser to the Federal Government, was appointed Deputy Chairman.

posts for Second Development Plan it proposed.

In 1967, Nigeria's former Regions were broken up into twelve states, a development that not only radically changed the context of national planning and plan priorities, but also strengthened the case for greater collaboration and coordination. As far as education is concerned, the persistent problems of educational development became more glaring and so were the fallacies of educational growth among the different geographical areas of the country.⁴⁴ With the successful completion of the war, various proposals were made for educational development in a reconstruction period. Two policy formulation bodies evolved. The Supreme Military Council, which consisted of the Military Governors of the States and is chaired by the head of the Federal Military Government sets out the broad guidelines for economic and developmental activities of the component Governments of the Federation. The Joint Planning Board⁴⁵ represented the official planning machinery with the tasks of: 1) harmonizing and coordinating the economic policies and development activities of the Federal and State Governments, and 2) examining in detail all aspects of economic

⁴⁴ For example, the general figures previously accepted for the North became inapplicable in certain areas within the vast region and sharp disparities were seen between the uppermost Northern states and the river in Northern states of Kwara and Benue Plateau.

⁴⁵ The membership of the Joint Planning Board is made of the Permanent Secretary, Federal Ministry of Economic Development and Reconstruction, (Chairman); Director, Central Planning Office; Chief Statistician, Federal Office of Statistics; Director, Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research; Director of Research, Central Bank of Nigeria; Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Finance; and Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Economic Planning from each of the states.

planning and making recommendations to the supreme Military Council or the representative State Governments.

It was in this spirit of national reconciliation and reconstruction that the 1970-1974 plan was conceived. It paid greater attention to education than did the previous plans, although it did not drastically alter previous stated priorities. Understandably, it was particularly concerned with the issue of educational gap and the already well known questions of expansion of middle-level education, and increasing enrolment in universities for courses in science, engineering and technology.

In the face of the regional differentiation and the intensification of inter-group competition it will be appropriate to examine their impact on the country's overall manpower development.

IV IMPLICATIONS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

The introduction of elected regional governments brought a new element--competitive spirit. The scramble for votes gave a fillip to educational activities. The East tried to rival the West in the bid to win the confidence of the voters. The North was aware of this but was unable to move at the same pace.

One latent function performed by the rapid expansion in the scale of educational enterprise throughout the country was the reported fall in standard. This was vividly illustrated in the East where it was the policy of the Government to exclude certain classes of schools--Category B--from having any qualified staff before Category A schools

had had a certain quota of qualified teachers. In the West the rash of secondary modern schools which mushroomed in the wake of the universal primary education scheme meant that the already high pupil-staff ratio was further increased. The lack of financial support from the Regional Government for the secondary modern schools meant that a lot of pupils were enrolled in schools which were financially insecure and badly run. Many of them were forced to close. This produced frustration and disappointment among a considerable number of young people.

Also, the very heavy proportion of the budget which the Eastern and Western Governments had had to spend on their educational development meant that financial provision for other necessary services such as agriculture, health and welfare, transportation and communications were drastically curtailed.

Perhaps the most daring development during this period was the University of Nigeria which sought to depart from the conventional British pattern of higher education. The idea of a Regional Government making plans for a university was also new. As already stated, under the 1954 Constitution university education was a federal subject and the fact that the Eastern Government was able to draw a plan for its own regional university without a challenge as to the basis of its constitutional power could have encouraged other regions that later founded their own institutions.

By the close of this period it had been amply demonstrated that education and higher education in particular was regarded as the principal factor in social change, and that post-independent Nigeria would be largely meaningless unless the schools, colleges and universities produced the kind of young men and women who would not only be properly trained, but who would also accept their responsibilities for building a united, prosperous and progressive nation. For the regional politicians the message was clear--the region that produced the largest high level manpower would eventually control the federal administration. This led to not only the mushrooming of universities but the distasteful competition and regional rivalry that had characterized Nigeria's federal experiment up to the military intervention in 1966. It should be mentioned that the final constitutional arrangement in 1960 (which ushered in independence) consolidated regional interest by leaving higher education as concurrent subject.

The co-extensive identification of party and region had consequences for the nature of competition within the Federation. It meant that the competition for power, patronage and prestige became, essentially, a competition between rather than within the regions.⁴⁶

Political parties are an essential part of the institutional

⁴⁶ Ezera, op. cit., p. 247.

apparatus of democratic and representative systems of government. They set out to galvanize the multiplicity of views held by the electorate into coherent bodies of opinion,⁴⁷ an activity which ensures the more or less orderly succession to power. This is another way of saying that political parties are the chief instruments by means of which the competition for power in a democracy is carried out. But when there is a meshing of party and region, the region becomes itself the unit of competition.

Competition for power is inherent in any federal system. While this competition is not in itself a result of federalism, it is an unavoidable aspect of the operation of federal systems. One writer expressed it thus:

(Competition) is not the result of federalism but it is the general atmosphere that pervades it. The material and moral forces that make federalism a political necessity are also the forces that create this competition.⁴⁸

Between the unit governments this competition takes the form of a contest to maximize each unit's share (for example) of the commerce and industry of the federation, vis-a-vis the other units.⁴⁹

In most federations this contest is mitigated by the fact that

⁴⁷ J.A. Corry and J.E. Hodgetts, Democratic Government and Politics (Toronto: 1959), pp. 218-225.

⁴⁸ M. Ventatragaiya, Competitive and Cooperative Trends in Federalism. Bombay: 1951, p. 2

⁴⁹ Macmahon, op. cit., p. 10.

the parties draw "support" from different regions and diverse interest groups, and their electoral appeals to attract votes from almost all sections and interest groups.⁵⁰ But where, as in Nigeria, the lines of cleavage are cumulative, relations among the regions take on, to some extent, the characteristics of those between independent states. In such circumstances state (regional) agencies can hardly stay free of involvement in partisan conflicts since each state would tend to marshall all its resources toward the competition for the national "cake".

V SUMMARY

It was noted at the beginning of this chapter that four major elements are relevant to the understanding of the Nigerian federal structure and her education policy plan, namely, the social, cultural, political and religious diversity of the Nigerian people.

The major themes developed in this chapter with regard to these contingent factors are as follows:

1. The pioneering of Nigeria's uneven social and economic development as a result of the differences in timing and penetration of the Western contact gave rise to the inter-tribal and inter-regional tensions that were evidenced in Nigeria's federal relationships.

⁵⁰ Corry and Hodgetts, op. cit., pp. 222-223.

2. The pattern of administrative arrangements that had the sanction of preserving the separate cultural identity of the Moslem North and the "Christian" South perpetuated regional consciousness. The regional consciousness reinforced the individuality of the former Protectorates and consequently the division of Nigeria into the North and the South was maintained even with the implementation of a federal structure.

3. Another factor which had major influence on the country's government was the nature of Nigerian political party system in its relationships with tribes. The tribal nature of the party system tended to perpetuate the sharp cultural differences among the different tribal groups.

4. The pledge by the founding fathers of the Nigerian federation to the Northern Emirs that the Nigerian Federal government would refrain from any action which will interfere with the exercise of the Moslem religion, in part explains the problem of consolidating Nigeria as a country united in diversity.

Given the relevant background and context about Nigerian social and cultural diversity, it may now be rightly asked: what circumstances and events influenced the centralization of university coordination? These are the questions that shall be confronted in the next two chapters.

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS OF THE INTERVIEW DATA

Introduction

The purpose of the interview was to secure an expression of personal views or perceptions on matters relating to the federal Nigerian policy of centralized control and coordination of university education in the country. (Research problem #3). Most of the interviews were with personnel associated directly or indirectly with higher education at three different institutional levels: Government-State/Federal; state commissioners of education; the Federal Commissioner of Education and Federal Permanent Secretary for Education; two members of the National Universities Commission; Vice-Chancellors of each University and one senior administrator randomly selected from each of the universities.

Between April 21 to May 7, formal in depth interviews were conducted by the researcher himself with 13 key officials and informally with six other key personnel who, for personal reasons, preferred an informal interview structure. Table 5 shows a breakdown by respondent group of the positions held by the interviewees and places of the interview.

Since the primary purposes of the interviews were to explore perceptions of the general circumstances which ushered in the new centralization policy, and to complement documentary instruments in

TABLE 5

Primary Data Sources

Interviewee	Place	Type	Position
Prof. Abubakar (B)*	Zania Lagos	Formal Informal	Vice Chancellor Office of the Registrar
(B)* D.I. Amagada	Benin City Benin City	Formal Formal	Vice Chancellor Registrar
T.N. Tamuno S.K. Kakulu	Ibadan Ibadan	Formal Informal	Vice Chancellor Registrar
Prof. Abayode T.A. Ikinyele	Ile-Ife Ile-Ife	Formal Formal	Vice Chancellor Registrar
Prof. Ade Ajai P.I. Amenechi	Lagos Lagos	Formal Informal	Vice Chancellor Sec. to the Council
J.O. Ezeilo Chief J.C. Menakaya	Nsukka Nsukka	Informal Formal	Vice-Chancellor Director of Inst. of Education
Cornel Ali	Lagos	Formal	Federal Commissioner of Education
I.A. Akinnele	Lagos	Formal	Permanent Sec. Federal Ministry of Education
W. Abdu S.S. Waniko V.A. Oyenuga	Lagos Lagos Lagos	Formal Informal Formal	Secretary NUC Former member of NUC Chairman, Nigerian Council for Science & Technology
F.C.N. Oragu	Lagos	Formal	Secretary N.C.S.T.

* Respondent wished to remain unidentified

the sense that it will help corroborate observations and findings emerging from documentary analysis, this chapter has been divided into four sections: (1) general state of higher education in Nigeria; (2) circumstances and events influencing centralization policy; (3) perceived impact of the policy, and (4) allocation of responses to interview questions.

I GENERAL STATE OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN NIGERIA

Interviewees were asked open-ended questions which were meant to find out what the respondents know about the general state of university education in Nigeria. This type of question gave the interviewee the freedom to express his viewpoints on both the direction of higher education in Nigeria and his impression about the new policy of centralization. Questions were phrased to allow the respondent freedom to appraise the Nigerian university education system in the light of the changes that have taken place in university administration in recent years.

With reference to questions on the state of and development of Nigerian higher education, a senior university administrator summarized what he referred to as the 'four major stages' of university development in the country which, he admitted, could in part explain the administrative problems that characterized university governance since 1947: (1) action prior to 1947, when the first university college was founded at Ibadan; (2) the early growth of this institution; (3) the

establishment in 1960 of another university, sponsored by a Regional government and embodying some differing conceptions of the nature and role of higher education; and (4) the rapid appearance in 1962 of three more universities, resulting in a system of two federal universities and one in each of the three Regions then in existence. Of the 18 people interviewed most agreed that the peculiar stages of university development were responsible for the lack of national direction of the country's universities up to 1975. For example, the Ashby Report made no mention of a University of Ife. Rather, it recommended the merging of the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology at Ibadan. The Western Nigerian Government responded to the existence of a Regional University in Eastern Nigeria by putting forth a plan to start its own university with the Ibadan campus of the N.C.A.S.T. as its temporary home. This desire to found a Regional university by the Western Government was the outgrowth primarily of their dissatisfaction with events at Ibadan University, where they felt Yorubas were being discriminated against and Ibos were being favoured (see Chapter 8).

One of the first criticisms leveled at the Nigerian Universities by a senior government personnel concerned entry requirements and limited enrolment. In the view of the respondent, the requirements kept the intake rather small when Nigerians had expected that the institutions would grow much more rapidly to provide more Nigerian graduates needed to occupy available high-level positions in the country (B). Another respondent said there is much misgiving, especially among the

young people of Nigeria, about the unwillingness of the authorities of the Universities to help in the education of Nigerians. Recently, there were serious criticisms of the rigid entrance examination. The authorities have not budged in spite of a definite desire among Nigerians that the universities should open their doors to as many qualified candidates as are forthcoming.

The universities, which were created to quench the thirst of young West Africans, have failed woefully to meet Nigeria's growing needs. For every year since their inception the Universities have always taken a limited number of Nigerians and a handful of other West Africans. Every year also thousands of ambitious young Nigerians are turned away from their own universities.¹

A former Regional Minister of Education, indicated his belief that the university should closely relate to the country in which it was located and should be vocational in nature, as well as cultural in the classical concept of universities. He further argued that the taxpayers in Nigeria who must bear the burden of expensive institutions like universities, had the right to demand value for their money. "They may reasonably expect that if a hundred students graduate in a year at least eighty percent of these will be of real service to the community; in my judgement, I don't think our universities as presently administered are meeting these requirements. There is no doubt in my mind that facilities in Nigerian universities are

¹ Interview with Ali.

under-utilized."²

A university professor (B) at the University of Benin criticized some university curricula as follows:

I would like to suggest that we are still too much involved with the traditional English belief that university education is self- evidently a good thing in itself, and that it doesn't very much matter what people are taught so long as they are taught something. For this is quite clearly the age of the professional, of the man who really knows his job. The time is past when responsibility and authority could be conferred on youths equipped only with a good literary education and with the kind of savoir-faire that comes from having been bred as a member of a ruling class.

He acknowledged that since there are urgent needs for professional teachers of literary subjects, professional writers, scholars and middle level manpower, the university should immediately respond to these needs.

Although criticisms relating to lack of direction, poor management and apathy against the universities were common with most of the interviewees, the Vice-Chancellor of the country's oldest university stressed the need for better informing the public of the role the university should play in an independent state. He stated:

In Nigeria the whole relationship of the University to the community has been upset by a failure in communication between them. This has led to genuine misunderstanding and often rash judgement from outside the situation.³

He explained that some of the protest concerning standards, size of

² Interview with A. Ikinyele.

³ Interview with the Vice-Chancellor of Ibadan.

enrolment, high cost of universities and universities not properly responding to the needs of the country were generated by people who did not understand very well the nature and problems of higher education or who were intent to attack university institutions for whatever reasons could be found.⁴

But there were a number of issues upon which most of the interviewees had some degree of agreement. Such issues concerned the nature of the curriculum, national coordination and staff/student ratios. (For further discussion of staff/student ratios see Chapter 8). Many of the people interviewed, including some who were instrumental in bringing about the creation of new universities in the country, criticized some of the Nigerian universities for being relatively worthless replicas of certain institutions that were outmoded even in the United Kingdom and definitely not suited to a developing country such as Nigeria. When asked to be more specific a senior government person complained about the lack of practical content in some of the engineering courses. He further stated:

University graduates in Nigeria tend to feel that the country owes them a living. Perhaps not enough stress is given to the social responsibility that goes with the privilege of a university education. In my opinion, this is one of the ways our universities have failed us.⁵

While most of the respondents acknowledged the tremendous increase in demand for university education from almost all parts of the country, it was generally pointed out that university education in the country

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Interview with J. E. Peters.

was not sufficiently directed towards the fulfilment of specific national objectives.

II CIRCUMSTANCES AND EVENTS INFLUENCING THE CENTRALIZATION POLICY

With reference to the question of circumstances, events or decisions which had greatest influence on the establishment of the centralization policy the respondents alluded to a host of issues including: access, administration, finance, political control, philosophy and objective, curriculum and instruction, faculty and staff, student personnel, national manpower supply, community services, and central coordination mechanisms.

The importance of access to university as a significant issue in the establishment of the policy did not receive unanimous agreement among the respondents. Discussing the issue, Dr. Akinnele, Director, Federal Institute of Industrial Research, stated:

Yes, I consider access to university a very significant one indeed. I think access to university education is very much related primarily to socio-economic level. However, access to a university in a particular locality is very much related both to the socio-economic level of the area and to the tribal and geographical groups of the region.

Generally, people from the upper middle class gain admission to universities outside their area because (1) they are less parochial in outlook and therefore don't attach any particular importance to attending the institution nearest to home; (2) they generally do well in the competitive entrance examinations; (3) in case of difficulty in securing admission on merit, these students can count on well-placed friends and relations to put in a word on their behalf.⁶

⁶ Personal interview with Dr. Akinnele, April, 1976.

However, a Vice-Chancellor on one of the universities (B) argued that if access to university education was a serious issue, the Federal Government could have attacked the problem by building more universities owned and administered by the Federal Government. In his view:

. . . the "Centralization policy" was adopted for a number of reasons - (1) States established universities which later they were unable to fund; then they called upon the Federal Government which was not a party to the founding of the universities concerned. (2) States were vying with one another on the establishment of universities; this was a political strategy rather than a response to social needs. There was danger of duplication and proliferation of universities to the detriment of academic standards. (3) There was need to insulate universities from local influences and pressures, political, tribal, etc., by ensuring their financial independence vis-a-vis state government; equally there was need to give universities a national outlook. (4) There was need to give all universities equal opportunity for growth, research and service to the nation.

The low numbers of students seeking admission to certain departments was observed to be a serious problem that could necessitate corrective action by the federal government. This problem, in their view, stems from lack of a sufficient number of sixth-form graduates, a lack of proper articulation between secondary school and universities and, in a somewhat similar vein, the inability of the entering students to have gained a sufficiently adequate foundation in science, mathematics, and frequently, in English. Closely related to this problem was the severe lack of adequate student housing facilities. In the opinion of the Vice-Chancellor of University of Ahmadu Bello, the Regional governments could not solve the problem with their very limited financial resources.

Significantly, an official of the Federal Commission of Education stressed lack of consensus on the role of the universities in providing technological and vocational teaching which would serve the nation's middle and high level manpower needs as a crucial factor in the policy decision. The University of Ibadan was mentioned as the most traditional in its reluctance to offer large numbers of courses related to vocational needs; by contrast the University of Nigeria at Nsukka was referred to as the institution which dealt most definitely with the problem by offering the largest number of course offerings related to such needs.

The need for a cohesive, well defined pattern of university organization within Nigeria was identified as a major factor, especially by government personnel. Many university problems were stated as stemming from a confusion in the roles and functions of currently existing units of organization such as National Universities Commission, Association of Vice-Chancellors, Union of University Teachers, etc. An attempt to re-define and reorganize the pattern of organization in a more meaningful way was called for. Related to this problem, in the opinion of most of the interviewees, was a lack of communication and cooperation between and among various universities and organizational units. This problem is exacerbated by lack of funds to promote programs for the exchange of information, personality conflicts, tribal conflicts, political interference, and misappointments made through a system of patronage.

With the exception of Colonel Ali, Federal Commissioner of Education, who would not discuss politics as a military officer, all other respondents admitted that political motives were behind the centralization policy.

A senior university administrator stated that the university had been the greatest victim of almost all the political crises that took place in the country in the first half of the 1960's. He then went on to say:

. . . in the University of Ife, the Dean of the School of Agriculture, Dr. Oyenniga, was dismissed by the Provisional Council, apparently for insubordination to the Vice-Chancellor; but the dismissal undoubtedly had political over-tones, and eight more members of the academic staff, including expatriates, resigned in protest against Oyenniga's dismissal. The dismissed dean and four of the lecturers who resigned were subsequently awarded damages and costs against the Provisional Council by an Ibadan High Court. There is little doubt that the unrest at Ife was an attack on the civil rights of politically minded academicians, not on their academic freedom. (B)

Similar examples of universities being targets of political interference were mentioned about Lagos University and the University of Ibadan. More will be said about these political acts in Chapter 8.

Although the respondents were sharply divided as to the degree of control a national agency should exercise over universities, agreement was expressed on the need for clarification and reorganization of patterns of control. Respondents agreed that existing patterns of control were considered to be incomplete or improperly organized and thus were not of greatest benefit to the country in their function. A problem which is closely associated with pattern of

control is that of the need for clarification and definition of the roles of Vice-Chancellor, Bursar, and Registrar. This related issue was identified by two government-personnel and one respondent from the National University Commission.

Respondents elected to list factors which led to the centralization policy decision. Of the ten factors identified, the following topped the list in terms of frequency of mention: the desire for more political control of the universities; the need to harmonize and regularize manpower supply for the economic and social development of the country; lack of an effective mechanism for the national coordination of universities; and lack of financial support by the States.

In general, the importance of these factors was confirmed by the Questionnaire (Chapter 7).

III POLICY IMPACT

Asked about specific concerns or issues interviewees face with regard to the policy, most of the respondents from universities expressed fears about possible Federal Government interference in the internal administration of individual universities. As one of the university registrars cautioned:

I am concerned that an attempt by the government to run the university as the civil service may lead to still less productive institutions. They may in effect kill initiatives and research; and most dangerously of all, kill the university freedom to teach without fear or favour.⁷

⁷ Personal interview with P. I. Amenechi

Perhaps what the Federal Government is yet to understand are the basic university problems. "Our problems are financial, undue political intervention, irresponsible directions from outside the university itself. All we ask for are funds and resources, and then we can run the university effectively and efficiently."⁸

Another senior university administrator did not see much to commend the policy. He saw the possibility of the university becoming sterile, and uniqueness of individual institutions destroyed. He did not see how academic goals and professional standards could be sustained by a central authority. He remarked:

Perhaps the best I could say of the policy is that centralization has something going for it-- coordination, reduction of unnecessary duplication, and equality of access.

However laudable these objectives are, let us not be over optimistic. Centralization, in fact any form of direct government intervention in academic matters, is fraught with the danger of using such controls for political and ideological aims.

In Nigeria the centralization of university administration could eventually lead to a more acrimonious political and tribal struggle to control Nigerian universities. Centralization could destroy the individuality of Nigerian universities. Imposition of quotas and specialization on universities by government in the name of avoiding duplication stifles initiative and kills creativity and originality. (B)

However, in spite of serious reservations expressed by some respondents, positive views were expressed about the policy impact. The Federal

⁸ Ibid.

Commission of Education, responsible for the policy, observed that the policy would generate uniform university entry requirements and consequently standards in secondary schools throughout the country.

There will be greater cooperation in research and areas of specialization. A drama similar to Njoku Obi's cholera vaccine may not be repeated, because any university operates on the national level, not state, and its achievement is a national not tribal achievement. Above all the country's manpower needs will be given adequate attention it urgently desired.⁹

About the effect of the policy on university finance, it was generally agreed that the new policy will certainly make more federal money available for research in physical and social sciences than the states would have given. However, many respondents, especially university personnel, would not consider federal money at the expense of flexibility in matters of university administration, faculty policy and other external sources of support to individual universities.

On the impact of the policy on community service, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ife summarized the policy impact as follows:

⁹ Personal interview with federal commissioner of education Cornel Ali. (Prof. Njoku Obi was said to have developed cholera vaccine in Nigeria at a time the country was importing cholera vaccine. But because of lack of proper coordination in research on a national level, this historic invention was not given adequate publicity.)

The national impact of the policy to the individual is to help him broaden his outlook, from being parochial to being national. Social agencies can, through the policy, cooperate with the university and delimit their needs, i.e., make recommendations to NUC about the type of manpower required. Universities, with improved facilities, will begin to share their research and innovations with business and industries.

Since culture is enriched when it comes in contact with other cultures, people from different ethnic groups will come to understand each other. Since no state will any more rush into establishing a university of its own at all costs, resources will be applied to other developmental projects.¹⁰

Two respondents, F.C.N. Oragu, Secretary of the Nigerian Council for Science and Technology, and S.S. Waniko, former member of the National Universities Commission, were of the view that since the policy of centralized control of universities had not been fully implemented at this point, it was not easy to make any sincere and objective assessment of the policy. It is quite possible, Dr. Oragu observed, that the policy could help make Nigeria one country as against the "many countries-in-one" that had been the case. Mr. Waniko did not see how the policy could effectively handle the "serious bane of political patronage and intervention." "Nigerian political crisis is not structural, and any meaningful solution will start from the cause rather than the effect,"¹¹ he concluded.

¹⁰ Personal interview with Prof. Aboyede.

¹¹ Personal interview with Dr. Waniko, former Member of National Universities Commission.

ALLOCATION OF RESPONSES TO INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Questions and Issues		Responses and Respondents Code No.
Q1.	No direct involvement Executive and administrative involvement Teaching	A01, A02, A05, A12, A14, A15, A16, A18 A03, A04, A06, A07, A08, A09, A11, A13, and A17 A08, A09, A10, A13, A04, A06
Q2.	Trend--Increase in demand for University education	A01, A02, A03, A04, A05, A06, A07, A08, A09, A10, A11, A12, A13, A14, A15, A16, A17, A18
Q3.	Duplication of facility Political factors	A01, A03, A07, A14, A08, A09, A10, A11, A12, A13 A02, A03, A04, A07, A08, A10, A11, A17, and A18
Q4.	Access to University education	A03, A04, A05, A01, A06, A07, A08, A11, A13, A14, A16, A17, and A18
Q5.	Factors that influenced the policy- responsiveness of universities to demands Effectiveness Efficiency	A02, A03, A05, A04, A08, A09, A12, A14, A16, and A17 A02, A03, A04, A08, A13, A17, and A18 A02, A03, A04, A05, A09, A12, A13, A14, A15, & A16
	Duplication of Programs	A02, A03, A04, A05, A08, A09, A12, A14, A15, A16, A17, and A18
Q6.	Political patronage as major factors in the location of university	A01, A02, A03, A04, A05, A06, A07, A08, A09, A10, A11, A12, A13, A14, A15, A16, A17, and A18
Q7	Universities wereunable to accomplish the following needs-social needs Provision of manpower Technology-manpower Advancement of knowledge Achieved all above goals	A01, A07, A08, A09, A14, A15 A01, A09, A18 A01, A07, A09, A10, A15, and A17 A01, A07, A08, A09, A17, & A18 A02, A03, A04, A06, A07, A08, A11, A13, A14, A16, A17, and A18

Q8. NUC was generally effective in:

Procuring financial resources
Distributing the resources
Advising Government on U. behalf
Coordinating programs

A02, A03, A04, A06, A13, A17
A03, A04, A06, A13
A03, A04, A06, A08, A09, A13, A16, A18
A03, A04, A06, A09, A15

NUC was not effective in:

Procuring financial resources
Distributing the resources
Advising Government on U. behalf
Coordinating programs

A01, A05, A07, A10, A15, A17
A01, A02, A05, A07, A10, A17, A18
A01, A02, A05, A07, A09, A10, A15
A01, A02, A04, A05, A07, A08, A10, A13,
A15, A16, and A18

Q9.

Limiting factors of NUC:

Extent of legal authority
Resistance of the Universities
Nature of membership
Resistance of state government

A02, A03, A04, A08, A10, A12, A13
A03, A04, A11, A13, A15
A02, A03, A07, A10, A13, A16, A17
A01, A03, A07, A08, A11, A12, A13, A14,
A16, A17, A18

Q10. Resistance of federal government
No specific concern

A02, A03, A13, A14, A18
A01, A02, A03, A04, A05, A10, A13, A14,
A16, A17, A18

Encouraging prospects

Govt. instruction into university affairs
Q11. Policy will promote research

A01, A06, A07, A11, A12, A15, A16
A08, A09, A12
A01, A02, A03, A04, A06, A07, A08, A09,
A10, A13, A16, A17, A18
A05, A08

Policy will have no effect on research
Promote programs and method of instruction
Will have no effect on programs and
method of instruction

A02, A03, A04, A08, A13, A16
A03, A06, A08, A13, A15, A16, A17, A18
A01, A02, A04, A05, A14
A01, A03, A07, A08, A09, A10, A11, A13,
A14, A15, A16, A17, A18

Q12.

Improve Universities funding system
Policy will have no effect on U. funding
Policy will help U. serve Individual

Policy will not help U. serve Individual
Policy will help U. serve Social agencies

A02, A04, A05, A06
A07, A08, A09, A10, A11, A13, A14, A17,
A18

Policy will not help U. serve social agencies

Policy will encourage business

Policy will not encourage business

Promote state constitutional interest

Destroy state constitutional rights

Foster state economic development

Hamper state economic development

Encourage state cultural development

Hinder state cultural development

Policy will promote national identity

Policy will hinder national identity

A02, A04, A05, A06
A01, A03, A07, A08, A09, A10, A11, A13,
A14, A15, A16, A17
A02, A04, A05, A06, A18
A01, A02, A03, A07, A08, A09, A10, A11,
A13, A16, A17, A18
A05, A12, A14, A15
A01, A02, A03, A04, A05, A07, A08, A09,
A10, A11, A13, A14, A15, A16, A18
A01, A02, A03, A05, A07, A08, A09, A10,
A11, A12, A13, A15, A16, A17
A04, A16
A01, A02, A03, A04, A07, A08, A09, A10
A11, A13, A14, A15, A17, A18

Q14.

IV ALLOCATION OF RESPONSES TO INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Table 6 presents collated comments from interview participants. Respondents have been coded to facilitate associating them with their responses. Example: On the circumstances, events or decision which had the greatest influence on the establishment of the "Centralization Policy" (Q3): Respondents A01, A03, A07, A08, A09, A10, A11, A12, A13 and A14 judged 'duplication of facilities' as the major factor, while Respondents: A02, A03, A07, A08, A10, A11, A17 and A18 judged 'political factor' as the important factor. Full interview transcripts have been placed in Appendix B.

V SUMMARY

This chapter has summarized and briefly discussed the data collected in the interview situation. Attention was focused on the general state of Nigerian university development prior to the policy to centralize university coordination, circumstances and events influencing the centralization policy and the perceived impact of the policy on university education in the future. It was the view of the majority of respondents that actual university development was at variance with the intended and expected quantitative and qualitative goals of Nigeria's national high level manpower needs. To be relevant to the needs of the Nigerian people, there must be more diversity and more flexibility in university education. The explanation for that variance was blamed on the presence of certain national conditions,

namely, political instability, the tendency to politicize university education, overestimation of the states' financial resources for sustaining institutions, and absence of an effective national coordinating machinery (problems of NUC as a national coordinating agency will be discussed in Chapter 8) and the tendency by the States to formulate higher educational policy and plans with inaccurate and technically deficient statistics. An example mentioned was the establishment of the University by the Western Region Government against the expert advice of the Ashby Commission (see Chapter 8). The respondents listed a number of items as perceived factors influencing the policy. These included university access, administration problems, insufficient funding to universities, political control by regional politicians, lack of national philosophy and objective in course contents, need for national manpower supply, need for community service, and absence of an effective national coordinating mechanism. Objectives which topped the list were: to insulate universities from national political crises, to guarantee annual financial support for universities, to develop an efficient reliable mechanism for university coordination and to give universities a true national image.

However, cautious optimism was expressed, primarily by Federal Government personnel, about the ability of the policy to solve some of the problems identified. Most of the university personnel expressed fears that centralization could lead to the Federal Government running the universities as part of the civil service. It was generally held that centralization could not solve political intervention and

patronage; fears were expressed that in fact centralization could worsen the situation. Some measure of agreement was reached on the capacity of the policy to improve university funding, increase cooperation between and among universities, promote national integration and increase university access to the Nigerian citizenry.

CHAPTER 7

QUESTIONNAIRE DATA

Introduction

This is the second of two chapters that deal with the analysis of the data. The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section examines the respondents' scores for the factors judged to influence the policy of centralized control of university education in Nigeria. The second section focuses upon respondents' perceptions of problems of the universities at the time of establishment of the policy. The third section examines perceptions of anticipated improvements in operation as a result of the policy; and the last section is devoted to further data analysis and statistical relationships.

(Research problems 4 and 5). For the purposes of analysis, the six northern states, North Eastern, North Western, Kano, Kwara, and North Central States have been collapsed into "Northern State"; Western States have been collapsed from Lagos State, the Western State and the Midwestern State; while the East-Central State, the South-Eastern State and the Rivers State have been collapsed into "Eastern States". The decision to report data regionally rather than nationally is justified by the inter-regional diversity which stems from differences in tribal, political, religious and cultural backgrounds. To ignore these and group the data might have led to false conclusions of a national consensus. A preferred route to the "Nigerian" view is by aggregation of the data from the three separate regions.

I FACTORS INFLUENCING THE CENTRALIZATION POLICY

Part 1 of the questionnaire (Appendix C) required respondents to rate 14 factors in terms of the extent that each was perceived to have contributed to the development of the Federal Government's centralization policy. In addition respondents were asked to identify the single item perceived to have had the greatest impact. Table 7 shows means and rank orders for each item by region. Table 8 displays frequency of mention of items designated as having the greatest impact and serves to confirm the trends manifest in Table 7. Data are presented first by region and then inter-region comparisons are drawn.

Northern States' Perceptions of Factors

In order of priority, the three most important factors as perceived by the respondents in Northern States were (1) Greater dependence of Universities upon government funds due to increased cost and demand; (2) Political rivalry among state politicians to control universities within their states; and (3) Desire of the Lagos Authorities to nationally coordinate universities for manpower training and national integration.

The three least important factors as determined by the Northern States were (1) Lack of basic agreement between federal and local organizations regarding finance and the needs of the universities; (2) Failure of state and federal universities to achieve cooperation through voluntary means; and

TABLE 7

MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATION AND RANK ORDER OF MEANS OF
FACTORS THAT INFLUENCED THE POLICY DECISION

Policy factors	Northern States			Eastern States			Western States		
	(N=9)			(N=19)			(N=15)		
	Means	S. Dev.	Rank Order	Means	S. Dev.	Rank Order	Means	S. Dev.	Rank Order
1. U dependence on government funds*	4.33	1.00	1.3	3.52	1.64	3	4.13	1.19	2
2. Efficient use of resources	3.56	1.33	8	2.73	1.32	8	3.27	1.09	9
3. Role clarification	3.67	0.86	7	2.89	1.14	7	3.73	1.22	5
4. Rational coordination	3.00	1.41	11.3	3.05	0.97	6	2.60	1.06	12
5. Political rivalry	4.33	0.70	1.3	3.26	1.28	4	4.07	1.03	3
6. U role in econ. development	3.88	0.83	5	3.72	1.27	2	3.87	1.0	4
7. Correct inequalities	3.75	1.03	6	2.63	1.53	9	3.13	0.99	10
8. Inequities in monetary support	3.00	1.11	11.3	2.31	1.00	13	2.87	1.12	11
9. Rationalization of U finance	2.33	1.41	14	2.37	1.42	12	2.02	1.06	14
10. National coordination	3.11	0.92	10	2.15	1.11	14	3.33	0.96	8
11. Cooperation among U	3.00	1.41	11.3	2.47	1.50	11	2.26	1.07	13
12. Cost Control	3.4	1.30	9	2.52	1.56	10	3.40	0.98	7
13. Manpower development	4.33	1.11	1.3	4.84	1.25	1	4.43	0.85	1
14. Others	4.00	1.00	4	3.25	1.50	5	3.66	1.20	6

* See Appendix C for details of policy factors

FREQUENCY SELECTION OF MOST IMPORTANT
POLICY FACTORS

Policy factors	Northern States		Eastern States		Western States	
	F	Rank Order	F	Rank Order	F	Rank Order
1. U dependence on govt. funds [*]	1	4.5	8	1	2	3
2. Efficient use of resources						
3. Role clarification	2	3			1	4.3
4. Rational coordination						
5. Political rivalry	3	1.5	2	3.5	6	1
6. U role in econ. development			2	3.5		
7. Correct inequalities	1	4.5				
8. Inequities in monetary support						
9. Rationalization of U finance						
10. National Coordination					1	4.3
11. Cooperation among U						
12. Cost control						
13. Manpower development	3	1.5	7	2	1	4.3
14. Others					4	2

^{*}See Appendix C for details of policy factors

(3) Demands from the universities for a more nationally coordinated approach with longer range budget commitments.

Table 8 shows an interesting slight change in frequency and rank ordering by the Northern States about policy items designated as having the greatest influence in the establishment of the policy. The three items identified by the Northern States: (1) Desire of Lagos Authorities to nationally coordinate university education in Nigeria for purposes of manpower training and national integration; (2) Political rivalry among state politicians to control universities within their states; and (3) Greater dependence of Universities upon government funds due to increased cost and demand. The three policy factors were also reported in Table 7; however, item thirteen which was ranked as third most influencing factor in Table 8 was here placed in the first place by the Northern States.

Western States' Perceptions of Factors

The three most important factors as perceived by the respondents in the Western Region in order of priority were: (1) Desire of Lagos Authorities to nationally coordinate Universities for manpower training and national integration; (2) Greater dependence of Universities upon government funds due to increased cost and demand; and (3) Political rivalry among state politicians to control universities within their states.

The three least important factors were: (1) Lack of basic agreement between federal and local organizations regarding finance and the needs of the universities; (2) Failure of state and federal universities to achieve cooperation and coordination through voluntary means; and (3) Demands from the universities for a more nationally coordinated approach with longer range budget commitment.

Concerning the one policy factor perceived as having greatest impact on the policy development the Western States (see Table 8) selected the following in order of priority: (1) Political rivalry among state politicians to control universities within their states; (2) Desire of the Lagos Authorities to nationally coordinate University education in Nigeria for purposes of manpower training and national integration; and (3) Greater dependence of Universities upon government funds due to increase in cost and demand. It will be observed (see Table 7) that these three policy items were already perceived by the Northern States' respondents as the three most important factors that influenced the policy decision. However, while policy item 5 was placed third in Table 7, it was placed first on the selection of the most important single policy factor.

Eastern States' Perception of Factors Influencing the Policy

The three most important factors influencing the policy decision as perceived by the respondents from the Eastern Region were: (1) Political rivalry among state politicians to control universities

within their states; (2) Recognition of the role of the universities in the social and economic development of new nations; and (3) Greater dependence of universities upon government funds due to increased costs and demands.

The three least important factors were: (1) Recognition of inequality in the relationship between the number of students from a given area and the monetary support provided the university by that area; (2) Difficulties due to a lack of coordination and cooperation among university institutions; and (3) Lack of basic agreement between federal and local organizations regarding finance and the needs of the universities.

Table 8 displays frequency and rank ordered selection of the one policy factor judged to have exerted the most important impact on the policy edict. In order of priority, the Eastern States consistently identified the following: (1) Greater dependence of universities upon government funds due to increase in costs and demands; (2) Desire of Lagos Authorities to nationally coordinate University education in Nigeria for purposes of manpower training and national integration; and (3) Recognition of the role of universities in the social and economic development of new nations/Political rivalry among state politicians to control universities within their states.

Although a more detailed examination of the key policy factors identified by the respondents is to be made in Chapter 8, it is significant to note at this point the general consistency with which

similar "policy items" have been selected by respondents in various states. On the basis of this, one would perhaps speculate that these policy factors must have been outstanding issues in Nigerian university education.

Inter-Regional Comparisons

Similarities and differences with respect to views on factors influencing centralization are highlighted when high ranked and low ranked factors are compared between regions (See Table 9).

Highlighted factors. There was high consensus among all regions regarding the four most important factors influencing the policy decision. These are: desire of the Lagos Authorities to nationally coordinate University education in Nigeria for purposes of manpower training and national integration; greater dependence of universities upon government funds due to increase in costs and demands; recognition of the role of universities in the social and economic development of new nations; and political rivalry among state politicians to control universities within their states.

Although the category "others" was ranked fourth, fifth and sixth in importance, investigation of responses revealed that only a few respondents had checked the item and no new factors were specified. For this reason the item was not included in the analysis.

Low ranked factors. All three regions included the following items: Lack of basic agreement between federal and local organizations regarding finance and the needs of the universities; failure of state and federal universities to achieve cooperation and coordination through voluntary means and recognition of inequality in the relationship between the number of students from a given area and the monetary support provided the university by that area among the four factors conceived to have least influence. For the Eastern region the factor ranked lowest was "difficulties due to a lack of coordination and cooperation among university institutions". This was ranked 8 and 10 in order of importance by Western and Northern regions respectively.

TABLE 9

INTER-REGIONAL COMPARISONS OF FACTORS RANKED
HIGH AND LOW IN IMPORTANCE

IMPORTANCE	Northern	Eastern	Western
High	1,5,6,13	1,5,6,13	1,5,6,13
Low	4,8,9,11	8,9,10,11	4,8,9,11

In general there was a high degree of consensus among all three regions concerning factors having greatest and least influence upon the

decision to centralize university administration in Nigeria. The factors thus identified provide a focus for discussion in Chapter 8.

II OPERATIONAL PROBLEMS PERCEIVED AT THE TIME OF THE NEW POLICY

The questionnaire elicited respondents' perceptions of what they considered to be basic issues and problems of university education in Nigeria at the time of implementation of the centralization policy. Responses are reported by region (see Table 10) and then comparisons are drawn between regions as before.

The Northern States' Perception of the Problems

The three perceived most critical problems were: (1) Lack of agreement between administrators/academicians and politicians which frequently leads to a stalemate in action; (2) Lack of consensus on the role of the universities in providing technological training which would serve the nation's middle level manpower needs; and (3) Excessive controls enforced by those providing the financial support, particularly the Federal, State and External Aid Agencies.

The three least university problems as determined by the Northern States responses were: (1) Difficulty in agreement as to the appropriate philosophy and objectives as the universities evolve; (2) Deficiencies in the academic standing of entering students; and (3) Problems created by trained and educated personnel being syphoned off to governmental posts.

TABLE 10

MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATION AND RANK ORDER OF MEANS OF PERCEIVED
PROBLEMS AND ISSUES IN UNIVERSITY OPERATION

Problems and Issues	Northern States			Eastern States			Western States		
	(N=9)			(N=19)			(N=15)		
	Means	S. Dev.	Rank Order	Means	S. Dev.	Rank Order	Means	S. Dev.	Rank Order
1. Tribal conflict*	3.3	2.2	8	3.9	1.2	2.5	3.5	1.0	1.2
2. Excessive governmental control	3.5	0.8	3	2.9	1.1	10	2.7	1.2	16
3. Inadequate funding	3.0	1.1	11.5	3.9	1.2	2.5	3.1	1.3	10.5
4. Communication	3.4	1.1	4.3	3.1	1.3	5	3.1	1.1	10.5
5. Leadership Conflict	3.7	1.2	1.5	2.9	1.2	7	3.5	1.2	1.2
6. Unequal access	3.4	1.0	4.3	2.7	1.3	12	3.5	1.2	1.2
7. Administrative control	2.9	0.8	13	2.9	1.3	8.5	2.8	1.2	15
8. Delivery system	3.4	1.2	7	3.4	1.1	4	3.4	1.1	7
9. Poor planning	3.4	1.0	4.3	3.0	1.3	6	3.0	0.8	12
10. Obsolete funding system	3.2	0.8	9	4.0	0.9	1	3.4	1.2	5
11. Goal displacement	2.1	1.1	19	2.5	1.3	16	2.9	1.4	13
12. Unresponsive institutions	2.6	1.6	15.5	2.8	1.2	11	2.7	1.5	17
13. Retention of scholars	2.3	1.5	17	2.1	1.2	19	2.3	0.8	18
14. Tenureship	2.8	1.1	14	2.5	1.3	14.5	2.1	1.1	19
15. Curriculum diversity	2.3	0.5	10	2.2	1.0	18	3.4	0.7	6
16. Curriculum relevance	2.6	1.1	10.5	2.9	1.3	8.5	3.2	1.2	8
17. Admission standard	2.2	1.2	18	2.3	1.1	17	2.8	1.1	14
18. Institutional role conflict	3.7	0.6	1.5	2.5	1.7	14.5	3.5	0.8	1.2
19. Community service	3.0	1.0	11.5	2.6	1.3	13	3.1	1.9	9

* See Appendix C for details of issues and problems

Eastern States' Perception of the Problems

In order of priority, the Eastern group of states considered that the three most important problems before the policy were: (1) Financial problems which are exaggerated by rapid rate of development; (2) Problems stemming from tribal, political antagonism and power struggle among groups with different tribal and political background; and (3) Problems involved in securing funding for research and initiation of new programs.

The three problems that were of least importance were (1) Problems created by trained and educated personnel being syphoned off to government posts; (2) Problems associated with the provision of a broader based program of instruction as opposed to a narrow, more specialized program of instruction; and (3) Deficiencies in the academic standing of entering students.

Western States' Perception of Problems

The three most significant problems revealed by the Western States' responses were: (1) Lack of consensus on the role of universities in providing technological training which would serve the nation's middle level manpower needs; (2) Problems stemming from tribal, political antagonism and power struggle among groups with different tribal and political background; and (3) Lack of agreement between administrators/academicians and politicians which frequently leads to a stalemate in action.

Problems ranked lowest were: (1) Difficulties of quality and continuity resulting from expatriate staff being hired for too brief period of time; (2) Problems created by trained and educated personnel being syphoned off to governmental posts; and (3) Difficulties created by the conservative institutions not being responsive to the needs of the developing country.

Inter-Regional Comparisons

Table 11 compares highest and lowest ranked problems by region. In each case the four highest and lowest ranked were included in cells of the table as before. Where more than four items are listed this is explained by the existence of tied ranks.

Items 5, 6 and 18 appearing in the list of Northern and Western States as high ranked operational problems are of historical interest to the researcher. While the two regions had often demonstrated their ideological and cultural difference at regional level, they had

TABLE 11

INTER-REGIONAL COMPARISONS OF OPERATIONAL PROBLEMS RANKED HIGH AND LOW IN IMPORTANCE

Importance	Northern States	Eastern States	Western States
High	2,4,5,6,9,18	1,3,8,10	1,5,6,18
Low	11,12,13,16,17	11,13,15,17	2,12,13,14

occasionally worked together at national level in pursuit of their sectional interest. An example of this cooperation is evidenced in the University of Lagos 'crisis' of 1965-66. This will be discussed in some detail in Chapter 8.

In contrast, however, to the earlier presentation of data concerning factors influencing the centralization policy, there was little consensus between regions on operational problems at the time of centralization. In fact only one item is agreed upon by all regions. That is the low rating for "problems created by trained and educated personnel being syphoned off to governmental posts" (#13). This finding is potentially significant since it appears to indicate that whereas university administrators have some commonalities in views regarding factors motivating the Federal Government towards centralized control of universities, the operational problems are different from region to region. One might speculate, then, that centralization and coordination of university operations will have little positive impact on the operational problems of institutions. The extent to which this inference is supported is revealed in the next part of the data presentation and the topic is further discussed in Chapter 8.

III ANTICIPATED IMPROVEMENTS IN OPERATIONS

In Part II of the questionnaire respondents were asked also to indicate the degree to which the centralization policy might produce

improvements in operational problems of the universities. Table 12 presents means and rank orders for each item by region. Comparisons between regions are highlighted for situations perceived to be improved most and least in Table 13.

Northern States' Perception of Improvements

The Northern States indicated that the three areas that they considered the centralization policy could help to the greatest extent were: (1) Problems of consensus on the role of the university in providing technological training which would serve the nation's middle level manpower needs; (2) Problems of balance in the location of universities; and (3) Administrative problems arising because of the attempt to control tribal faction among faculty members.

It is significant to observe that, although Items 1, 7, 8 and 18 have been identified by Northern States' respondents as possible areas of improvements, the mean score range of 3.78 to 4.00 for these items fall within the scale interval corresponding to "no change" to "some improvement". One would therefore doubt whether the policy would solve any of the problems of Nigerian university education. Further examination of Table 12 revealed that the three universities' problems which the new policy would improve least were: (1) Provision of Nigerian texts and curriculum more relevant to the indigenous society; (2) Difficulty in agreement as to the appropriate philosophy and objectives as the universities evolve; and (3) Difficulties created

MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATION AND RANK ORDER OF MEANS OF PERCEIVED IMPROVEMENTS FROM THE POLICY

Issues	Northern States			Eastern States			Western States		
	(N=9)			(N=19)			(N=15)		
	Means	S. Dev.	Rank Order	Means	S. Dev.	Rank Order	Means	S. Dev.	Rank Order
1. Tribal conflict*	3.78	1.09	3.5	3.89	0.80	3	3.33	0.89	11.5
2. Excessive governmental control	3.57	0.87	5.5	3.05	1.12	16	2.60	1.12	17
3. Inadequate funding	3.00	1.41	12.5	3.57	1.30	6	3.33	1.04	11.5
4. Communication	3.22	1.09	11	3.63	1.11	5	3.53	0.91	7
5. Leadership conflict	3.56	1.42	8	3.31	0.82	9	3.46	1.60	8
6. Unequal access	3.57	0.86	5.5	3.55	0.85	7.5	3.73	0.88	4.5
7. Administrative control	3.78	0.83	3.5	3.66	0.84	4	3.00	1.13	16
8. Delivery system	3.87	0.83	2	4.05	1.16	2	4.00	0.75	1.5
9. Poor planning	3.44	1.01	9.5	3.22	1.06	11	3.42	1.08	9
10. Obsolete funding system	3.57	0.78	7	4.22	0.73	1	3.93	0.96	3
11. Goal displacement	2.37	0.91	18.5	3.17	0.55	13	3.06	0.27	14.5
12. Unresponsive institutions	2.50	0.92	17	3.27	0.57	10	2.57	1.15	18
13. Retention of scholars	2.55	1.13	16	2.61	0.91	19	2.40	1.18	19
14. Tenureship	2.66	0.70	15	2.66	0.76	18	3.06	1.27	14.5
15. Curriculum diversity	3.00	1.06	12.5	3.16	0.51	12	3.57	0.93	6
16. Curriculum relevance	2.37	1.30	18.5	3.11	0.58	14.5	2.73	1.03	4.5
17. Admission standard	2.77	1.30	14	2.88	0.83	17	3.36	0.79	10
18. Institutional role conflict	4.00	1.11	1	3.55	0.85	7.5	4.00	0.75	1.5
19. Community service	3.44	1.50	9.5	3.11	0.90	14.5	3.28	0.72	12

*See Appendix C for details of issues and problems

by the conservative institutions not being responsive to the needs of the developing country.

It will be observed that Items 16, 11 and 12 have mean scores of 2.37, 2.37 and 2.5 respectively. This indicates not only absence of improvement, but expected deterioration of problems with the implementation of the policy decision.

Eastern States' Perceptions of Improvements

In order of preference, respondents from Eastern States anticipated major improvement in: (1) Financial problems which are exaggerated by rapid rate of development; (2) Problem of maintaining balance in the location of universities; and (3) Problems stemming from tribal, political antagonisms and power struggle among groups with different tribal and political backgrounds.

The Eastern States' mean scores on the three items were slightly above 4.00. This would indicate some measure of expected improvement when the policy decision is fully implemented. It could be further stated that the degree of confidence of Eastern States in the capacity of the policy to produce some improvement on problems is greater than of the Northern States.

Least likely to be improved by the centralization policy were: (1) Problems created by trained and educated personnel being syphoned off to governmental posts; (2) Difficulties of quality and continuity resulting from expatriate staff being hired for too brief periods of time; and (3) Difficulties in the academic standing of entering students.

The mean scores of 2.61, 2.66 and 2.88 on the three items indicated deterioration of the problems with the implementation of the policy.

Western States' Perception of Improvements

The three areas where improvement was recorded as most likely by respondents from Western States were: (1) Problems of balance in the location of universities; (2) Problems of consensus on the role of the universities in providing technological training which would serve the nation's middle level manpower needs; and (3) Financial problems which are exaggerated by rapid development.

Again with the mean score range of 3.93 to 4.00 on the three items, the Western States' respondents only expected a marginal improvement on the problems with the coming into effect of the policy decision.

In contrast to the above areas of expected improvement, the three areas of least expected improvement identified by the Western States respondents were: (1) Problems created by trained and educated personnel being syphoned off to governmental posts; (2) Difficulties created by the conservative institutions not being responsive to the needs of the developing country; and (3) Excessive controls enforced by those providing the financial support, particularly the federal, state and External Aid Agencies.

With the mean scores of 2.40, for item 13, 2.57 for Item 12, and 2.60 for Item 2, the Western States' respondents indicated some measure of 'deterioration' of the problems with the implementation of the centralization policy.

Inter-Regional Comparison

Comparison between regions are highlighted in Table 13 which displays the four highest and lowest ranked items in terms of anticipated improvement.

TABLE 13

INTER-REGIONAL COMPARISONS OF EXPECTED IMPROVEMENT RANKED HIGH AND LOW IN EXTENT

Extent of Improvement	Northern States	Eastern States	Western States
High	1, 7, 8, 18	1, 7, 8, 10	6,8,10,16,18
Low	11,12,13,16	2,13,14,17	2,7,12,13

Only one item was ranked in the highest four in extent of expected improvement in all three regions. This was Item 8, "maintaining balance in the location of universities".

Most similarity was found between Northern and Eastern regions which listed two other common items in the first four. These were Item 1, "improvement in structural patterns for authority and control of universities"; and Item 7, "administration problems arising because of the attempt to control a tribal minority faction among faculty members". This contrasted the commonality exhibited earlier by Northern and Western States on factors which they perceived influenced the centralization policy (see Table 11)

Item 10 "Clarification and definition of the roles of Vice-Chancellor, Bursar and Registrar" was common to Eastern and Western Regions; and Item 18, "problem of consensus on the role of the university in providing technological training which would serve the nation's middle level manpower needs" was common to Northern and Western States.

There was less agreement when items ranked low in expected improvements were considered. One item, 13, "problem created by trained and educated personnel being syphoned off to the governmental posts" was common to all regions. Similarly, Item 2, "excessive controls enforced by those providing the financial support, particularly the Federal, State and External Aid Agencies" were common to Eastern and Western States' respondents.

An interesting comparison is between problems ranked highest in importance and problems expected to be resolved by the policy. Ideally, for each region, the most important problems should have the best prospects for resolution. This comparison is drawn in Table 14.

TABLE 14

A COMPARISON OF IMPORTANT PROBLEMS AND PROBLEM
SITUATIONS EXPECTED TO IMPROVE

Characterization of Operational Problems	Northern States	Eastern States	Western States
Highest importance	2,4,5,6,9,18	1,3,8,10	1,5,6,18
Greatest improvement	1,7,8,18	1,7,8,10	6,8,10,16,18

The greatest degree of congruence between important and improving problems occurs in the case of the Eastern Region where there is commonality of three items. Next comes the Western Region with a commonality of two items, and lastly the Northern Region where only one important problem is expected to show improvement. An inference from this observation is that the new centralization policy is most in tune with the needs of the Eastern Region and least so in the case of the Northern Region. This speculation is discussed in Chapter 8.

IV STATISTICAL RELATIONSHIPS

The nature of the questionnaire data notwithstanding it was considered of interest to subject the data to statistical test of

inference. Ideally data so processed should meet the assumption of representativeness of the various populations of interest. It should be borne in mind that data were not gathered with statistical treatment of this type in mind; however, the analysis was pursued in the hope that some light will be shed on tendencies which might characterize various grouping of respondents.

First, the significance of differences in mean ratings between regions is examined for each of: factors influencing centralization (Table 7); problems prior to centralization (Table 10); and expected improvements (Table 12). Similar comparisons are made for respondents categorized as either university personnel or Government personnel (Tables 23,24, and 25).

Inter-Regional Comparisons

For inter-regional comparisons one way analysis of variance was performed. In all cases the critical level of significance was .05. Where statistically significant F scores were found, Scheffe Multiple Comparison of means was performed to locate the differences.

Factors Influencing Centralization

Table 15 presents comparisons of means for influencing factors by regions.

An examination of Table 15 shows that there were significant

COMPARISON OF MEAN SCORES OF INFLUENCING
FACTORS BY REGION

Policy factors	REGIONS			F	Probability
	Northern States	Eastern States	Western States		
	Mean	Mean	Mean		
1. U dependence on Govt. funds [*]	4.33	3.52	4.14	1.35	0.27
2. Efficient use of resource	3.55	2.73	3.26	1.52	0.23
3. Role clarification	3.66	2.89	3.73	2.78	0.07
4. Rational coordination	3.00	3.05	2.60	0.79	0.46 ^a
5. Political Rivalry	4.33	3.26	4.06	3.73	0.03
6. U role in socio-econ. development	3.87	3.72	3.86	0.09	0.91
7. Correct inequities	3.75	2.63	3.13	2.11	0.13
8. Routine U monetary support	3.00	2.31	2.86	1.71	0.19
9. Rationalize U finance	2.33	2.36	2.02	1.18	0.31 ^a
10. National system of Coordination	3.11	2.15	3.33	6.67	0.003
11. Cooperation among U	3.00	2.47	2.26	0.47	0.62
12. Mechanism to control cost	3.37	2.52	3.40	2.70	0.07
13. Manpower and national integration	4.33	4.84	4.43	1.30	0.28
14. Others	4.00	3.25	3.66	0.35	0.78

^{*} See Appendix C for details^a $p \leq .05$

differences between at least two pairs of means for the respondents from the three regions on policy factors 5 and 10.

The Scheffe multiple comparisons of mean test (Table 16) disclosed that at the .06 probability level, Northern mean score of 4.33 was significantly higher than the Eastern mean score of 3.26 on policy factor 5 - "political rivalry among state politicians to control universities within their states". Similarly, on Item 10, "difficulties

TABLE 16

SCHEFFE ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF INFLUENCING
FACTORS BY REGIONS (5)

Regions	N	Means	Pairs of Groups	P
North (1)	8	4.33	1,2	0.06 ^a
East (2)	18	3.26	1,3	0.84
West (3)	14	4.06	2,3	0.12

^aSignificant at level .1

due to a lack of coordination and cooperation among university institutions", Scheffe multiple comparisons of Means (Table 17) showed a probability level of less than .10 for two paired comparisons. Further analysis of Table 17 disclosed that the Eastern Region's mean score

TABLE 17

SCHEFFE ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF INFLUENCING
FACTORS BY REGIONS (10)

Regions	N	Means	Pairs of Groups	F	P
North (1)	8	3.11	1,2	6.67	0.06 ^a
East (2)	18	2.15	1,3		0.86
West (3)	14	3.33	2,3		0.005 ^a

^aSignificant at level .1

of 2.15 on the policy factor was significantly lower than the Northern Region's mean score of 3.11 at probability 0.06. Table 17 also showed that at the probability level of 0.005, the Western Region's mean score of 3.33 was statistically higher than the Eastern mean score of 2.15.

The differences established on Item 5 presents an interesting confirmation of the inter-regional comparisons about respondent's perceptions of factors influencing the policy decision (see Table 7). It will be recalled that Item 5 was placed fourth on the four most important factors influencing the centralization policy (see Table 8); however, the Eastern States' respondents had not perceived the issue as a 'serious' factor. Both the Northern and Western states had perceived it as a 'serious' factor.

Operational Problems

Table 18 is a display of inter-regional comparisons of mean scores of university problems prior to the centralization policy. The table indicated that there were no significant differences between the mean scores on each problem statement.

Table 19 displays an inter-regional comparison of means for expected improvements of the universities' problems with the implementation of centralization policy. Examination of Table 19 indicated that significant differences existed among the mean scores of the respondents from the three regions. Significant differences occurred for the following items: 5 - "problem of lack of agreement between administrators/academicians and politicians which frequently leads to a stalemate in action"; 10 - "financial problems which are exaggerated by rapid rate of development"; and 16 - "provision of Nigerian texts and curriculum more relevant to the indigenous society".

The Scheffe multiple comparisons of mean test (Table 20) indicated that at the 0.09 probability level of confidence, Western mean score of 2.57 was significantly lower than Eastern mean score of 3.27.

The information presented in Table 19 showed that the obtained F ratio had an associated probability level of 0.001. This indicated that there was at least one pair of means for which significant differences were reported.

TABLE 18

COMPARISONS OF MEAN SCORES OF PROBLEMS
OF NIGERIAN UNIVERSITIES BY REGION

Problem Issues	REGIONS			F	Probabilities
	Northern States	Eastern States	Western States		
	Mean	Mean	Mean		
1. Tribal conflict*	3.33	3.89	3.46	0.94	0.39
2. Excessive governmental control	3.77	3.89	3.33	1.69	0.19
3. Inadequate funding	3.50	2.89	2.73	1.33	0.27
4. Communication	3.66	3.05	2.60	2.76	0.07
5. Leadership conflict	3.00	3.89	3.13	2.38	0.10
6. Unequal access	3.00	3.57	3.33	0.67	0.51
7. Administrative control	3.44	3.05	3.13	0.32	0.72
8. Delivery system	3.22	3.63	3.53	0.47	0.62
9. Poor planning	3.66	2.94	3.46	1.19	0.31
10. Obsolete funding system	3.55	3.31	3.46	0.18	0.83
11. Goal displacement	3.44	2.66	3.46	2.17	0.12
12. Unresponsive institutions	3.66	3.55	3.73	0.18	0.83
13. Retention of scholars	2.88	2.94	2.80	0.06	0.94
14. Tenureship	3.77	3.66	3.00	2.66	0.08
15. Curriculum diversity	xxx	3.38	3.40	0.00	0.97
16. Curriculum relevance	3.87	4.05	4.00	0.10	0.90
17. Admission standard	3.44	3.00	3.00	0.55	0.58
18. Institutional role conflict	3.44	3.22	3.42	0.20	0.81
19. Community service	3.57	4.22	3.93	1.61	0.21

* See Appendix C for details of problem issues
xxx Group 1 has zero variance and is being dropped

TABLE 19

COMPARISONS OF MEAN OF EXPECTED IMPROVEMENTS

Problem Issues	REGIONS			F	Probability
	Northern States	Eastern States	Western States		
	Mean	Mean	Mean		
1. Tribal conflict [*]	3.57	4.22	3.93	1.61	0.21
2. Excessive governmental control	2.12	2.47	2.93	1.01	0.37
3. Inadequate funding	2.37	3.11	3.06	1.52	0.23
4. Communication	2.62	2.83	2.71	0.05	0.93
5. Leadership conflict	2.50	3.27	2.57	3.40	0.04 ^a
6. Unequal access	2.33	2.11	2.26	0.13	0.87
7. Administrative control	2.55	2.61	2.46	0.08	0.92
8. Delivery system	2.77	2.55	2.13	0.87	0.42
9. Poor planning	2.66	2.66	3.06	0.81	0.45
10. Obsolete funding system	3.25	2.27	3.42	8.25	0.001 ^a
11. Goal displacement	3.00	3.16	3.57	1.58	0.21
12. Unresponsive institutions	2.62	2.94	3.20	0.53	0.59
13. Retention of scholars	2.37	3.11	2.73	1.88	0.16
14. Tenureship	2.22	2.33	2.86	1.17	0.31
15. Curriculum diversity	2.77	2.88	3.26	0.99	0.38 ^a
16. Curriculum relevance	3.66	2.55	3.66	5.18	0.01
17. Admission standard	4.00	3.55	4.00	1.30	0.28
18. Institutional role conflict	3.00	2.61	3.14	0.95	0.39
19. Community service	3.44	3.11	3.28	0.34	0.71

^{*} See Appendix C for details of issues and problems

^a $p \leq .05$

TABLE 20

SCHEFFE ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF EXPECTED
IMPROVEMENTS OF U PROBLEM (5)

Group	N	Mean	Pairs of Groups	P
North (1)	8	2.50	1,2	0.13
East (2)	18	3.27	1,3	0.98
West (3)	14	2.57	2,3	0.09 ²

^aSignificant at .10 level

The Scheffe test performed (Table 21) disclosed that at a probability level of .03, the Eastern Region's mean score of 2.27 was significantly lower than the Northern Region's mean score of 3.25.

TABLE 21

SCHEFFE ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF EXPECTED
IMPROVEMENTS OF U PROBLEM (10)

Regions	N	Mean	Pairs of Groups	P
North (1)	8	3.25	1,2	0.03 ^a
East (2)	18	2.27	1,3	0.89
West (3)	14	3.42	2,3	0.002 ^a

^aSignificant at .10 level

Also at a probability level of 0.002, the Western mean score of 3.42 is statistically higher than the Eastern mean score of 2.27.

Similar analysis of Table 22 disclosed that at a probability level of .02 the Eastern States' mean score of 2.55 was significantly lower than the Western States' mean score of 3.66. Table 22 also indicated that at the 0.06 probability level of confidence, the Eastern States' mean score of 2.55 was significantly lower than the Northern mean score of 3.66.

TABLE 22

SCHEFFE ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF EXPECTED
IMPROVEMENTS OF U PROBLEM (16)

Regions	N	Mean	Pairs of Groups	P
North (1)	8	3.66	1,2	0.06 ^a
East (2)	18	2.55	1,3	1.00
West (3)	14	3.66	2,3	0.02 ^a

^aSignificant at .10 level

University/Government Comparison

For university personnel/government comparisons a two tailed t test was used. In all cases the critical level of significance was .05.

Table 23 presents personnel comparisons of means for factors influencing the policy of centralization of university education in Nigeria.

Examination of the table disclosed that of the 14 factors influencing the policy statistically significant differences occurred in the means of four: Items 5, 10, 11, and 13. In all cases the means for government personnel were significantly higher than those of the university personnel on the same "issues".

An important aspect of the finding to note is that whereas there was disagreement between Government and University personnel on two of the four major factors, (items 5 and 13) there were no significant differences among the regions on those factors. However, further examination of Table 23 would indicate some measure of agreement on greater dependence of universities on government funds due to increase in costs and demands (1) and recognition of the vote of universities in the social and economic development of new nations (6).

Similar Government/University personnel comparisons were made of university problems prior to the centralized control of university education (Table 24). Statistically significant differences were found between means for only two items: "problems involved in securing funding for research and initiation of new programs" (3); and deficiencies in the academic standing of entering students" (17). The

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF FACTORS INFLUENCING
CENTRALIZATION BY ROLE AFFILIATION

Policy factors	Role Affiliation			
	Govern. N = 15	University N = 27	t	Probability
	Means	Means		
1. U dependence on government funds	4.13	3.70	.0935	0.355
2. Efficient use of resources	3.00	3.19	-0.462	0.646
3. Role clarification	3.73	3.19	1.479	0.147
4. Rational coordination	2.50	3.04	-1.539*	0.132
5. Political rivalry	4.33	3.56	0.244	0.029 ^a
6. U role in econ. development	4.29	3.69	1.829	0.075
7. Correct inequalities	3.53	2.96	1.349	0.185
8. Inequities in monetary support	2.73	2.63	0.290	0.773
9. Rationalization of U finance	2.47	2.59	-0.291	0.772
10. National coordination	3.33	2.56	2.415	0.020 ^a
11. Cooperation among U	3.20	2.57	2.026	0.049 ^a
12. Cost Control	3.33	2.88	1.098	0.279
13. Manpower development	4.60	3.85	2.165	0.036 ^a
14. Others	4.50	3.38	1.144	0.285

* Welch and prime adjustment of t-test for unequal variances

^aSignificant at .05 level

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF PROBLEMS OF UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTIONS BY ROLE AFFILIATION

Actual Issues and Problems	Role Affiliation			t	Probability
	Govern. Means	University Means			
1. Tribal conflict [*]	3.80	3.44	0.977	0.334	
2. Excessive governmental control	3.27	2.73	1.459	0.152	
3. Inadequate funding	2.73	3.85	-2.980	0.004 ^a	
4. Communication	2.87	3.27	-1.047	0.301	
5. Leadership conflict	2.93	3.41	-1.151	0.256	
6. Unequal access	3.20	3.22	-0.055	0.956	
7. Administrative control	2.80	2.93	-0.330	0.743	
8. Delivery system	3.50	3.65	-0.456	0.651	
9. Poor planning	2.73	3.23	-1.389	0.172	
10. Obsolete funding system	3.60	3.72	-0.355	0.724	
11. Goal displacement	2.57	2.46	0.252	0.802	
12. Unresponsive institutions	2.43	2.81	-0.846	0.402	
13. Retention of scholars	2.13	2.15	-0.042	0.966	
14. Tenureship	2.33	2.52	-0.462	0.646	
15. Curriculum diversity	2.86	2.92	-0.206	0.838	
16. Curriculum relevance	2.79	3.07	-0.682	0.499 ^a	
17. Admission standard	3.00	2.15	2.430	0.019 ^a	
18. Institutional role conflict	3.60	3.04	1.525	0.135	
19. Community service	3.07	2.62	1.267	0.212	

* See Appendix C for details of issues and problems

^aSignificant at .05 level

university's mean score of 3.85 on Item 3 was statistically higher than the mean scores of the Government on the same item. One would expect Nigerian university personnel to rate 'research funding system' as a serious problem while the Government, which gives the research grants, would not see the issue in the same light.

On the contrary, the Government's mean score of 3.00 on Item 17, "deficiency in the academic standing of entering students" was statistically higher than the universities' 2.15. This finding is rather surprising in view of the traditional concern of universities in general over the level of preparation of entering students.

Comparisons of means for expected improvements by role affiliation were displayed in Table 25. Further examination of the table indicated that a significant difference of means was located at problem 3 - "securing funding for research and initiation of new programs." The higher mean for university personnel indicated their hope that the centralization policy would ameliorate this problem. On the other hand, Government personnel anticipated further aggravation of the problem. This finding is indicative of a serious divergence of views between the two groups on what would be a most contentious issue.

V SUMMARY

This chapter examined means of factors perceived by the respondents from Northern Eastern and Western States to have influenced the centralization policy of university education. The findings disclosed more similarities than differences with respect to views on factors influencing the

TABLE 25

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF EXPECTED IMPROVEMENT
BY ROLE AFFILIATION

Problems	Role Affiliation			t	Probability
	Govern. Means	University Means			
1. Tribal conflict*	3.93	3.44	1.765	0.085	
2. Excessive governmental control	2.93	3.11	-0.496	0.622	
3. Inadequate funding	2.67	3.74	-2.911	0.005 ^a	
4. Communication	3.13	3.63	-1.541	0.131	
5. Leadership conflict	3.27	3.37	-0.296	0.768	
6. Unequal access	3.53	3.78	-0.871	0.389	
7. Administrative control	3.40	3.52	-0.366	0.715	
8. Delivery system	3.71	4.22	-1.663	0.104	
9. Poor planning	3.00	3.46	-1.433	0.159	
10. Obsolete funding system	4.07	4.00	0.242	0.809	
11. Goal displacement	2.64	3.80	-1.260	0.215	
12. Unresponsive institutions	2.93	2.88	0.136	0.891	
13. Retention of scholars	2.40	2.59	-0.583	0.563	
14. Tenureship	2.40	2.93	-1.434	0.159	
15. Curriculum diversity	3.21	3.31	-0.341	0.734	
16. Curriculum relevance	2.86	2.81	0.134	0.893	
17. Admission standard	3.00	3.00	0.000	1.000	
18. Institutional role conflict	3.93	3.74	0.667	0.508	
19. Community service	3.00	3.23	-0.697	0.489	

^{*} See Appendix C for details of issues and problems.

^a $p \leq .05$

policy decision. A similar general consensus was found among the Regions concerning factors having least influence upon the decision to centralize university administration in the country.

Operational problems of universities at the time of the centralization policy were examined. In contrast, however, to the factors influencing the policy, little consensus between the regions was recorded. Only Item 13 was agreed upon by all the Regions. However, some degree of commonality of views was found between Northern and Western Regions on the operational problems of the universities at the time of centralization.

Anticipated improvements of university problems resulting from the policy were investigated by region. Inter-regional comparisons identified four highest and lowest items in terms of anticipated improvement. On this investigation, only one item "maintaining balance in the location of universities" was ranked highest in expected improvements in all the regions. In contrast with operational problems most similarities were found between Northern and Eastern Regions. Less agreement was found when items ranked low in expected improvements were considered.

The chapter further reported the statistical significance of differences in mean rating between regions for each of factors influencing centralization, university problems before the policy and expected improvements.

On factors influencing the centralization policy significant differences among the mean scores of respondents were recorded on items 5 - "political rivalry", and item 10 - "National system of coordination".

Similar regional comparisons were conducted on respondents' perceived expected improvements resulting from the policy decision. In this comparison, significant differences were reported on three items: "leadership conflict" (5); "obsolete funding system" (10) and "curriculum relevance" (17). However, no statistically significant differences were reported on the operational problems of the universities.

Identical comparisons were made between government and university personnel. Important differences were found on Government/University personnel comparison of university problems and expected improvements from the policy.

Finally, it should be noted that the tendencies in rank order analysis reported at the beginning of the chapter must be interpreted cautiously due to the paucity of statistically supported differences.

CHAPTER 8

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS AND COMMENTS

This chapter presents further discussion and interpretation of the findings. In the discussion an attempt will be made to relate some events identified in the study with certain other sources to establish some points. The comments are based on the researcher's personal experience and indepth knowledge of the Nigerian higher education enterprise.

I CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

In Chapter 4, it was stated that the colonial administration had not given serious consideration for the development of higher education. This is exemplified by the inconsistencies and lack of directions with which higher education was reflected in Nigerian constitutional changes. As already stated, the 1954 Constitution made higher education a federal responsibility. Six years after that the constitution was again amended and higher education became once more a 'concurrent' subject. The effect of this change was to consolidate regional and sectional interests in the operation of higher education. From this point, a stage was set for the politicalization of higher education in the country.

In Chapters 6 and 7 respondents ranked political intervention by politicians with the university administration as one of the three most important factors that could have influenced the centralization policy. In this section, the influence of political actions from outside the universities that have continued to plague the university system will be examined. The discussion of some of these events will confirm part of the findings of this study. Such discussion is also significant, because it not only highlights the peculiarity of Nigeria's policy environment (Chapter 5) but demonstrates the outgrowth of fundamental weaknesses in the Nigerian political system that had persisted in obstructing a fully rational approach to higher education (Chapter 6).

The crisis that arose over the removal of the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Lagos illustrates that Federal universities are not insulated from the harmful effects of the tribal hostility and political deals that have characterized the Nigerian federal system. The removal of a professor from the University of Ife indicates that under certain circumstances Regional Universities are susceptible to pressures generated by struggles for political power within the Regions. The operation of the university scholarship programs reveals other shortcomings, in particular the failure to coordinate these programs with other closely related activities and the tendency to distort the function of the programs by using them to serve ends contrary to their basic purpose. Some of the causes for the problems in the scholarship programs stem primarily from the inefficiency of a yet

immature administrative apparatus, but other causes are derived from the more serious and perhaps more durable problems of Regionalism and political manipulation.

The University of Lagos crisis which a few respondents mentioned (see Appendix C) occurred in the spring and summer of 1965.¹ Instead of reappointing Dr. Eni Njoku (an Ibo), who had been the widely-respected Vice-Chancellor of the institution during the first three years of its existence, the predominantly Yoruba Council replaced him with Dr. Saburi Biobaku (a Yoruba). This move led to riots by students, revolt by faculty members, and the closing down of the university for several months. The incident just described reveals the way in which an academic institution can be turned into an instrument of tribal political patronage, with the result that the normal functions of the institution are completely disrupted for a while and are saddled with damaging after-effects for an indefinite period.

The university of Ife affair in 1964 was not as serious as the Lagos crisis, but it also indicated the vulnerability of universities to political interference from outside.² This incident involved the

¹The very numerous and complicated circumstances of this incident cannot be fully described here. A good summary of the events can be found in *Minerva*, III (Spring, 1965), pp. 412-16 and (Summer, 1965), pp. 592-601.

²This account is based on information gained from interviews with some of the key participants in the controversy, faculty members of Ife University who were present during various stages of the developments, observers who were not directly connected with Ife or involved in the controversy, newspaper stories, and files of the Nigerian Association of University Professors.

dismissal of a University of Ife professor, Dr. V. A. Oyenuga, at the instigation of the Western Region Government. Technically, he was dismissed because of "rudeness" to the Vice-Chancellor, but this was clearly an exaggerated issue designed to mask the culmination of a long series of unsuccessful efforts "to encourage" his resignation. The Government was able to accomplish this through its influence with the Provisional Council and with the Vice-Chancellor.

The incident raised questions of academic freedom and governmental "witch-hunting". There was a strong reaction both on the Ife campus and in academic circles generally. Several professors, both political allies of the dismissed professor and expatriates, resigned in protest. There was widespread fear that the university would be seriously damaged because of such losses from the staff and the effect which these events would have on attracting new faculty members. There were also demonstrations by students, but these did not reach serious proportions. Normal class routines were soon resumed. The incident provided further confirmation that the well-being of Nigeria's institutions of higher education were often sacrificed by political machinations.

These incidents at Lagos and Ife universities and in the scholarship programs clearly illustrates that the forces of irrationalism were not exhausted in the founding of multiple universities. Waste was inherent in the very creation of the system of higher education, and the propensity for further squandering resources endured.

The image of political stability the political leaders often strove to give in order to encourage external vested interest is falsified by the constant political drifts actually experienced by Nigeria. For example, the Ten-Year Development and Welfare Plan was launched in 1946 after the end of the Second World War, in the midst of the centrifugal disturbances and nationalist agitation for a new constitution.³ In 1947 a new Constitution was promulgated which divided Nigeria into competing regions, each claiming to have the right to determine "policy" priorities and fair share of the national fund. The five years preceding independence and the first two years following it witnessed inter-regional, economic and political rivalries which impeded the free flow of resources, and rational allocation and consequently maximization of resources.⁴

The first National Development Plan was launched in April 1962; again, in the following month, the Western Nigerian crisis led to the declaration of a state of emergency in the Region, and ipso facto through out the country. The treason trials that followed caused a diversion of the Development fund toward internal security and defence,

³Michael Crowder, Story of Nigeria. London: Faber and Faber, 1962, Chapter 15.

⁴Samuel Hluko, Nigeria's Development Plans, 1946-74. Lagos: Daily Times, December 7, 1970, p. 11.

the former at the Regional and Federal levels, the latter at the Federal level only. The 1962 and 1963 census debacles politically strained intergovernmental cooperation which was essential to the successful execution of the university development. The 1964 and 1965 Federal and Western elections crises, the two differently 'politically' inspired military take-overs of January and July 1966, the creation of the twelve states in 1967 and the subsequent 1967-70 Civil War all had serious consequences on Nigeria's university administration. The significance of these details is to accentuate the constitutional and political relationships between and among Federal and Regional Governments. It will also highlight the political drifts, shifts and crises hindering in many ways the successful implementation of educational development, however carefully masterminded.

II FINANCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

In both Interview (Chapter 6) and Questionnaire (Chapter 7) analyses, financial problems were perceived as a significant factor influencing the centralization policy. An examination of data revealed a great measure of consensus by the respondents that financial problems were ranked as one of the three most serious problems with the present system of university governance. Through the use of relevant documentation, this section will further examine the cost and financial relationships universities had maintained with their sponsoring Regions and the Federal Government.

It will be recalled (see Chapter 6) that a senior university administrator from one of the regional universities explaining centralization policy said "states established universities which later they were unable to run; then they called upon the federal government which was not a party to the founding of the universities concerned" (B). If this statement conveys anything, it is the fact that the Nigerian universities are "high cost firms in an expensive education industry".

The main responsibilities for financing recurrent and capital costs rested with governments. The governments provided the money for capital outlay from the development funds and for recurrent costs from annual grants. Incomes from investment, fees, and rents covered about one-fourth of the total expenditure.⁵ A study on financing university education in Nigeria showed that one of every ten dollars was spent on university education by combined federal and regional governments.⁶ During 1963-1966 (before the Nigerian Civil War), Table 26 shows how much recurrent grants were actually paid to the universities by the federal government.

The parochial motivated development of higher education resulted in a group of universities which, because of duplication of facilities and under-enrollment, cost the nation far more than necessary for the manpower skills produced.

⁵A. Callaway and A. Musone, "Financing of Education in Nigeria", International Institute for Educational Planning, UNESCO, 1967, pp. 71-84.

⁶Nigerian Human Resource Development and Utilization, December 1967, p. 89.

TABLE 26
GRANTS PAID TO UNIVERSITIES

University	1963-64	1964-65	1965-66	Percentage ⁺
Ibadan	₦1,525,000	₦1,900,000	₦2,000,000	100 [*]
	\$4,575,000	\$5,700,000	\$6,000,000	
Lagos	₦430,000	₦901,500	₦900,000	100 [*]
	\$1,290,000	\$2,704,500	\$2,700,000	
Ife	₦195,000	₦218,000	₦210,000	30
	\$585,000	\$654,000	\$630,000	
Nsukka	₦200,000	₦388,000	₦485,000	30
	\$600,000	\$1,164,000	\$1,455,000	
A.B.U.	₦210,000	₦450,000	₦500,000	50/75
	\$630,000	\$1,350,000	\$1,500,000	

* Federal Universities

Source: National Universities Commission, op. cit., p. 6

⁺Percentage of University recurrent expenses.

TABLE 27
RECURRENT INCOME OF NIGERIAN UNIVERSITIES 1969/70

	University of Ibadan	University of Lagos	Ahmadu Bello University	University of Nigeria	University of Ife	All Universities
Federal Subvention	2,735,775	2,241,692	1,664,629	115,000	459,212	7,216,308
State Subvention	---	---	537,000	---	1,071,497	1,608,497
Interest	130,000	11,900	---	---	2,000	143,900
Fees	570,000	396,550	295,600	---	185,000	1,447,150
Other Income	200,950	35,500	126,490	---	15,000	337,940
TOTAL	3,636,725	2,685,642	2,623,719	115,000	1,732,709	10,793,795

Source: National University Commission, Annual Review of Nigerian U Academic Year, 1969/70, p. 28.

In Nigeria, for every one dollar that goes to the universities, the Federal and State annual subventions contribute approximately eighty-five cents. This is a big burden to the Federal and State governments' revenue. As a result of this financial burden, the state governments are gradually withdrawing from financial support of the local universities. The plan is to encourage the Federal government to shoulder the financial responsibility because of its broad revenue base vis-a-vis the shrinking revenue base of the states. Tables 27 and 28 show the recurrent income of the universities and the Federal State subventions to the Universities respectively.

TABLE 28

FEDERAL AND STATE SUBVENTIONS TO UNIVERSITIES AND OTHER
INCOME 1969/70

Source	Amount	% of Total
Federal Subvention	7,216,308	67
State Subvention	1,608,497	15
Interest	143,900	1.3
Fees	1,447,150	13.4
Other Income	337,940	3.3
TOTAL RECURRENT	10,793,795	100
CAPITAL GRANTS BY GOVERNMENTS	409,500	---
TOTAL	11,203,295	

Source: National University Commission, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

Nigeria now has six universities, all with small enrolments. While benefits may be claimed for small enrolments and presumably greater individual attention to students by faculty, it will be difficult to argue that such educational luxury can be afforded by a country badly in need of manpower and terribly short of financial resources for the many projects necessary for national development.

In other words, it seems clear that it was not proper use of scarce resources to establish six expensive institutions when the present or the projected number of 10,000 student population in the universities during 1970-1980 decade,⁷ could have been easily and much less expensively, accommodated in fewer institutions.

The high staff/student ratio is a major reason underlying the high per unit costs in Nigerian universities. According to the National Universities Commission report, in 1966-67 the University of Ahmadu Bello had only 955 students with 233 teachers; University of Ife had 923 students with 185 teachers; and the University of Lagos had 1,103 students with 271 teachers.⁸ The figure showed that these three universities had staff/student ratio of 1:4; 1:5; and 1:4 respectively. The universities of Ife and Lagos high staff/student ratio is understandable in view of the fact they were established in 1961-62. However, Ahmadu Bello University was established in the same year but

⁷Nigeria: Investment in Education, p. 22.

⁸Nigeria: National University Commission and Federal Statistics of Education in Nigeria, 1969-70, p. 2.

inherited the staff, students and the university equipment of the "old" Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology at Zaria--unlike the Universities of Ife and Lagos. Therefore, a classical case of under-utilization of resources can be made against the University of Ahmadu Bello.

The Task Force had well noted:

If the staff/student ratio at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka were common to all other universities, theoretically the number of students could be increased by 82% nationally and by 233% at Ahmadu Bello alone. Even if the ratio at all universities were only 1:8 (considered the optimum in the U.K.), the potential increase would be 29% nationally and 136% at Ahmadu Bello alone.⁹

Latest available figures¹⁰ showed that there is no remarkable progress in the expansion of the universities. Ahmadu Bello had the staff/student ratio of 1:6 in 1969/70; the University of Ife has 1:6 too; only the University of Lagos has made some rapid progress with 1:8 ratio. A closer examination of the report¹¹ indicated that Ahmadu Bello University has in Agriculture and Forestry, and Veterinary Medicine a discouraging staff/student ratio of 1:3 and the University of Ibadan has 1:7. The national average is 1:3. When we consider the fact that, in spite of the rapid economic progress in

⁹ Nigerian Human Resources Development. A.I.D. Task Force, Education and World Affairs. Washington D.C., 1967, p. 113.

¹⁰ Nigeria: National University Commission Report, op. cit. 1970, p. 28.

¹¹ Ibid.

the 1970's resulting from the oil boom, Nigeria has an agricultural economy by an operational definition. Of the fifteen countries listed Nigeria has the highest staff-student ratio. Therefore, to have a staff/student ratio of 1:3 as a national average tends to confirm the majority perception of the respondents that the university education is not responding to the needs of the nation (Chapter 6).

In Nigerian universities, tutorials and lectures are emphasized rather than big seminars such as in Canadian and American Universities. This has its effect on the high staff/student ratio. The argument in favor of tutorial approach is on high standards. The high standards are understandable at the "teething stage" when the university is trying to build up an acceptable world academic reputation. But with the "new universities" established, and with university expenditure rising, it would be rather unrealistic to continue to justify the approach. Table 29 shows a comparison of Nigerian staff/student ratio with some other countries.

III SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES

The ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious diversities (Chapter 5) of Nigeria had significant influence in development and operation of Nigerian universities. The differential penetration of western education, the predominantly Moslem population in the north and the Christian inhabitants in the south all help to explain some of the social conflicts in Nigeria. With an established system of education of their own, it was not surprising that the Northern

TABLE 29

STAFF/STUDENT RATIO OF NIGERIA AND OTHER COUNTRIES COMPARED

(Latest UNESCO Figures)

Country	Year	Staff	Increase of Students in 15 Yrs. (x Times)	Students	Staff/ Student Ratio
Nigeria*	1964-65	1,079	---	6,707	1:3
	1965-66	1,208	1.5 x	7,709	1:6
U.S.A.	1950	295,000	2.2 x	2.3m.	1:13
	1964	384,000	---	5m.	--
U.K.	1950	11,000	1.6 x	133,000	1:11
	1963	19,500	---	210,900	--
U.S.S.R.	1950	80,000	3.0 x	1.2m.	1:15
	1964	n.a.	---	3.6m.	--
Italy	1950	9,665	1.3 x	191,790	1:11
	1964	24,270	---	261,358	--
France	1950	n.a.	---	139,600	--
	1960	10,800	3.3 x	---	1:27
	1964	16,900	---	455,111	--
W. Germany	1950	n.a.	2.8 x	122,688	--
	1963	---	---	342,700	--
W. Berlin	1950	n.a.	2.6 x	12,000	--
	1963	---	---	31,000	--
E. Germany	1951	n.a.	2.8 x	27,800	--
	1964	---	---	75,500	--
Czechoslovakia	1950	n.a.	---	43,800	--
	1960	10,500	3.2 x	---	1:8
	1964	17,000	---	141,600	--
Turkey	1950	1,200	3.7 x	24,800	1:18
	1964	5,600	---	91,000	--
Japan	1950	52,000	2.3 x	390,800	1:10
	1963	90,800	---	916,600	--
China (ex Taiwan)	1950	---	6 x	138,700	--
	1962	---	---	820,000	--
India	1950	62,000	---	404,000	--
	1962	75,000	2.2 x	---	1:15
	1963	---	---	1.1m.	--

TABLE 29 (continued)
STAFF/STUDENT RATIO OF NIGERIA AND OTHER COUNTRIES COMPARED
(Latest UNESCO Figures)

Country	Year	Staff	Increase of Students In 15 Yrs. (x Times)	Students	Staff/ Student Ratio
Columbia	1950	1,700	---	10,630	--
	1963	6,000	3.5 x	---	1:6
	1964	---	---	37,000	--

Note: *Increase of students is for two years.

Source: National University Commission, op. cit., 1969/70, p. 29.

Moslems were less enthusiastic about western culture cherished and accepted by their Christian brothers in the south.

In Chapter 6, most of the interviewees expressed some concern that the Nigerian universities were not meeting the national objectives in manpower training. This section, by the use of available documents, will examine fundamental basis for the concern. From the brief historical examination of the country's universities it was shown that the university system in its present form did not result from an objective assessment of national manpower needs and the best means of meeting them. Instead, parochial concerns were frequently the crucial influence. Regional and tribal pride and

rivalry prevented the dominance of a national perspective which would have caused educational development to be planned and coordinated in terms of overall social needs of the country. Even when purely educational and manpower needs may have justified an action, such action was usually taken without any national plan or coordination with the activities in other regions.

It was already mentioned (Chapter 4) that 'University College', Ibadan was created in 1948 before Nigerians exercised any significant power in the governing of their country at the national level. At the time when Nigerians obtained independence, however, Ibadan became quite pertinent to the problems of constitutional concurrency of higher education. Since University of Ibadan was established before independence by the colonial government, this section will be concerned primarily with discussion on the newer institutions created by self-governing Nigerians.

The appointment of the Ashby Commission and the events following the submission of its Report (see Chapter 4) give a misleading picture of the degree of planning and central direction involved in the development of Nigeria's university system. The Ashby Report recommended three universities in addition to the already existent University College Ibadan; and within two years of the acceptance of this report by the Federal Government in 1960,¹² these three institutions, plus another one, were in operation.

¹²Nigeria, University Development, 1961-70.

The sequence of events was such as to suggest that the universities were created in response to proposals based on an independent, objective assessment of how best to meet the nation's social needs. In fact, however, decisions to create most of Nigeria's universities originated outside the Commission and were not made on the basis of national planning criteria. The report reflected, rather than generated, these decisions. The University of Nigeria in the Eastern Regions had been planned long before, and it started its first classes only a few weeks after the publication of the Report (see Chapter 5). The University in the North, Ahmadu Bello, was created despite the low level of educational development in that Regions.¹³ Finally, the university in the Western Region was created in reaction to provision in the Report.¹⁴

There is another dimension to the motivations behind the creation of a university in the Eastern Region, and that growth of Regional competition. This kind of parochial motivation is strongly suggested by remarks in the Eastern Regional Assembly. For Example:

¹³Interview with a former member of N.U.N.

¹⁴One member of the Commission, Dr. S.D. Onabamiro, who was from Western Nigeria and was named Minister of Agriculture in the Region during the life of the Commission, issued certain reservations about the Report in which he recommended additional Regional universities including one in the Western Region. Nigeria, Investment in Education, p. 48.

It is a long time since we announced this plan and other Regions have started to plan seriously about their own universities. Let us make a start now so that the other Regions may not take the lead.¹⁵

The creation of universities in the Northern and Western and Mid-Western Regions was an even clearer expression of parochial concern than the case just cited. This is not to suggest that there is any essential difference between the Eastern and the other Regions in this regard, but the circumstances were different. The University of Nigeria did embody some distinct educational principles; the universities in the North and West exhibited no fundamental departures from the educational philosophy and practices at Ibadan. The creation of the first Regional university, however, imposed a powerful new incentive on those Regions that did not have such an institution.

While recommending a university in the Northern Region, the Ashby Report recognized that in terms of the number of potential applicants in the Region there was not much demand for a university there. As indicated in the fourth Chapter the North lagged far behind the Southern Regions in educational development, and the lower school system still was not capable of producing nearly enough university applicants to warrant additional institutions to serve only their needs.

¹⁵ Eastern Nigeria, House of Assembly, Debates, April 5, 1957, p. 456.

The basic reason for supporting a university in the North sprang from the Commission's appreciation of the political situation in the country and the demand which grew out of this. According to one member of the Ashby Commission, the recommendation for the Northern University was included in their report essentially because the Premier of the Northern Region informed the Commission that the North was to have such an institution.¹⁶

Perhaps, it could be mentioned that when events threatened to go against the interest of the North, its leaders exhibited separatist inclinations. Their attachment to the idea of one Nigerian nation was not so strong as to persuade the Northerners that what they considered important interests should be subjugated to what others considered the overall national interest. Placed in this context, the power and significance of the Premier's word to the Ashby Commission regarding a Northern University can be appreciated. The separatist tradition and the desire to preserve the cultural distinction of the Region were clearly revealed in the various statements concerning the founding of a university in the North. For example:

There is another and most important justification for founding a University without delay. While all universities are concerned with problems which engage world-wide intellectual effort, they have also the important task of preserving and developing the special cultural traditions of the community which they serve. The Northern Region has its own cultural

¹⁶Interview, April 25, 1976.

traditions which distinguish it from the other Regions; care for these traditions should be a main function of the University.¹⁷

It becomes obvious that the development of Northern Nigeria would be incomplete until the region had a university of its own. An institution of a university status was necessary to care for its particular rich cultural traditions.¹⁸

It is clear that the Northern Region was unwilling to see universities develop solely in the South; even though there was hardly any justification in terms of the availability of Northern students or of economic efficiency for building another university in the North at that time.

As expressed by one of the respondents (see Chapter 6) the creation of the university by the Western Region Government was another, and even more blatant, example of Regional interests dominating national interest. Insofar as the Ashby Commission represented an effort at national planning, this institution was a direct violation of such plans. This university was not recommended in the Ashby Report; furthermore, it was founded to a large degree in reaction to the recommendations of this Report, which Westerners considered discriminatory against their Region.

¹⁷University of Northern Nigeria, Report of the Inter-University Council Delegation, p. 8.

¹⁸"Universities in Independent Nigeria," Federal Nigeria, V (November, 1962), p. 14.

Although the Ashby Commission scheme triggered the decision to build a university in the Region, there had been developing for some time prior to this a sentiment among some Yorubas, especially those connected with the University College, Ibadan, in favor of establishing a new university. This desire was the outgrowth primarily of their dissatisfaction with events at Ibadan, where they felt Yorubas were being discriminated against and Ibos were being favoured.

IV GENERAL CIRCUMSTANCES

Because of the importance of general factors that had played no less significant influence in the development of the centralization policy, it is pertinent at this point to describe generally certain developments during the 1970's which had implications for national educational planning. With the outbreak of the national crisis in 1966, two planning machineries, the National Economic Council and the Joint Planning Committee, because of the very nature of their memberships disappeared. In March, 1966, the new military administration established the National Economic Planning Advisory Group whose membership was based on individual ability, knowledge and experience as opposed to regional representation. With the renewed political crisis of July, 1966 (the second military take-over within eight months), the activities of the Group lapsed. The Group's major achievement, perhaps, was their recommendation to the Military Government for immediate introduction of nationally coordinated

manpower training.

As earlier stated, in May, 1967, Nigeria's former Regions were broken up into twelve states, a development that not only radically changed the context of national educational planning and plan priorities, but also strengthened the case for greater collaboration and cooperation. As far as university education was concerned, the persistent problems of inequality of access and duplication of facilities became more glaring and so were the fallacies of educational growth among the different geographical areas of the country. With the successful completion of the Nigerian civil war, various proposals were made for educational development in a reconstruction period. Two policy formulation bodies evolved. The Supreme Military Council which consisted of the Military Governors of the states and was chaired by the Head of the Federal Military Government, set out the broad guidelines for the economic and social development of the component Governments of the Federation. The Joint Board represented the official planning machinery with the tasks of: (1) harmonizing and coordinating the economic and social policies of the Federal and State Governments, and (2) examining in detail all aspects of economic planning and making recommendations to the Supreme Military Council or the respective State Governments.

Because of the military situation in the country in April, 1976 (another military coup had just taken place), it was not possible to identify specific individuals behind the policy. However, it could be

said that in the spirit of national reconciliation and reconstruction the centralization policy was inspired by the Joint Planning Board and the Supreme Military Council, and since all forms of party activities, regional rivalry and agitations were banned throughout the country, everybody seemed to have welcomed the Centralization which could have been a touchy constitutional issue under civilian government.

Y NATIONAL UNIVERSITIES COMMISSION

So far discussions have been centered around significant environmental influences that had affected a national approach to university coordination. This is not to suggest that Federal Government was unaware of the distressful consequences of regional and cultural conflicts to the country's overall economic and social development and did nothing about it.

Undoubtedly, the establishment of the N.U.C. was a measure taken toward national policy-making in higher education. The National Universities Commission was established "to inquire into (and advise the Government on) the financial needs both recurrent and capital of university education in Nigeria".¹⁹

In Chapter 6, it was reported that N.U.C. had not been very effective as a national coordinating Agency of the Federal and Regional

¹⁹Nigeria, University Development in Nigeria, pp. 1-2.

Universities. The circumstances hindering its effectiveness can, in part, be explained in the social, structural and cultural complexities of the country. The conditions under which the body was established were such, it was hardly able to bring about a rational, coordinated university system. First of all, higher education was a concurrent (Chapter 4) subject under the Nigerian Constitution, and an agency of Federal Government, such as N.U.C., could exercise no legal powers over a Regional University against the will of the Regional Government. Thus, with the potential exception of the Federal University of Ibadan and Lagos, the N.U.C. had only advisory powers, the effectiveness of which depended entirely on the persuasive ability of the Commission.

Another very significant factor limiting the Commission was being faced at its inception with the fait accompli of a university system that was inefficient and uneconomic. In other words, it was not possible for the Commission, even if it had possessed the constitutional power, to fashion a system of higher education based on close attention to national needs; instead it had the task of trying to bring about the best possible results from the irrational conditions already created.

The commission had little legal power of its own. It was primarily an advisory body responsible to the Prime Minister and indirectly to the Cabinet. It did not even have power over the Federal universities unless the Federal Government supported it-- for

example, by refusing funds to Ibadan or Lagos if they did not comply with NUC recommendations. Theoretically, even this power did not extend to the Regional Universities.

An important qualification to these conditions emerged, however. It has been mentioned that the Regional universities were dependent upon the Regional Governments for their financing, but in reality the Regional Governments felt the need to gain financial assistance from the Federal Government to operate these institutions. As the NUC report stated, if these universities were to develop as planned, the Federal Government would have to take a major role in financing this development.²⁰ Thus, potentially, the more dependent the Regional universities become on Federal funds, the more influence the NUC might have on them.

It is questionable, however, whether the Regional Governments could have allowed their universities to be controlled by a federal body in a manner that seriously conflicted with the social and cultural interests of the Regions. In other words, control over their financial support would hardly be abdicated if such an arrangement should prove distasteful in their social aspirations. Some university officials doubted that a Regional Government would allow any major interference with its Regional university so long as that Government were reasonably satisfied with the activity in question or if

²⁰Nigeria, University Development in Nigeria, p. 33.

their general satisfaction with the university was such that they were willing to cooperate with university officials when requested.²¹ The willingness of a Regional Government to permit central control would also depend on the amount of opposition in the Region to any kind of Federal interference in Regional matters. Occasionally, circumstances might lead to an acceptance of greater control by the central authorities, at least temporarily. For example, dissatisfaction developed in the Eastern Region because of what was considered to be excessive control by Azikiwe in the running of the University of Nigeria. Also there was dissatisfaction over alleged corruption and nepotism in some affairs of the institution. There was some sentiment in the East, therefore, in favor of NUC's exercising a stronger influence over the university, since this would be a convenient way of circumventing the power of Dr. Azikiwe in the Region and bringing the institution more into line with what was thought to be proper.²² It is problematic whether such a willingness to submit the Regional university to the direction of a central body would continue if Dr. Azikiwe's influence over the University of Nigeria waned and practices at the institution no longer upset the Eastern Government officials.

²¹ Interview with a member of NUC (B).

²² Interview with a former high-ranking official of the NUC, now a member of faculty (B).

Since the NUC's effectiveness depended so much on its ability to persuade university officials (as well as government officials) to cooperate with its policies, the attitude of these officials toward the NUC was a pertinent factor. Among many university officials²³ there was the feeling that the proper role for the NUC was simply the more or less clerical function of transferring monies from the Federal Government to the universities without any discretionary power over such transactions. They did not view the commission as a policy-making body in any important respect and, in fact, did not think it was qualified to be one, even if that were its designated function. Not only did these officials think that no one outside the universities was qualified to set university policy, but there was also the recognition that a central agency, with power to direct national university development, was a potential threat to the ambitions and development plans of the individual universities.

The potential usefulness of a body like the Committee of Vice-Chancellors was great, and they provided some stimulus to consideration of problems that hindered a more rational operation of the system of higher education in Nigeria. In some respects, however, this body was deficient as a force toward greater rationality in policy.

²³These observations were based on interviews with high level officials--including some former Vice-Chancellors, registrars and deans at various universities. See Interview transcript--Appendix C.

The members of the Committee were the heads of the various universities and, as such, were strong proponents of the special interests of their own institutions. Part of the problem in the proliferation of facilities in Nigeria was the ambition of the universities to expand their own offerings and the unwillingness to forego some of their plans in favor of concentrating such activities in fewer institutions. This tendency was noted by the NUC.

Connected with the problem of the pressure of student numbers is the tendency of our universities to attempt, rather hastily to teach the whole spectrum of human knowledge. Instances exist where within the same university the staff/student ratio in some departments is 1:20 and in others 1:4. The temptation to achieve breadth at the expense of depth results in an uneconomic use of the meagre financial resources at the disposal of the universities.²⁴

Given the vested interests of the universities, it was not to be expected that the Committee of Vice-Chancellors could provide a counterforce to all the centrifugal pressures toward duplication of facilities. In regard to some matters, university officials proceeded from the perspective of their own institution, not from that of overall national needs.

²⁴Nigeria, University Development in Nigeria, p. 19.

CHAPTER 9

GENERAL SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Restatement of the Problem for Investigation

The purposes of this study was to examine the policy decision of the Nigerian Federal Military Government to centralize coordination of Nigerian universities.

I GENERAL SUMMARY

Background and Purpose of the Study

The background of this study included 1842, the year when the first Christian Mission arrived in Nigeria. In 1843 the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society established the first infant school in the country. The period 1960 - 1976 was one of the most significant periods in the Nigerian higher education. The spectacular change in the state and federal relations, the rapid growth of university expansion in the country and the aftermath of political uncertainties that had been prevailing were characteristics of the Nigerian environment during this period.

Since the end of Nigeria Civil War (1970) university education in the country has been undergoing a state of educational revolution in the first and second levels of the educational system. The second level is

expanding greatly, but the university systems in the country are characterized by a number of constraints--financial, political and supply constraints. Thus, the universities still remain small with a high staff/student ratio, high recurrent cost of teachers' salaries, and high cost per student place. The linkage between the university community and the economy is characterized by a great 'chasm'. Both students and universities are confronted with financial problems. Students' financial problems give rise to demand constraints which in turn increased the small enrolment of the universities, consequently resulting in "wasteful imbalance" and a high level of attrition.

In view of these problems, and the new federal government's policy of centralization, the researcher conducted a study to assess the factors perceived to influence the centralization policy and its impact on university governance in Nigeria.

The concepts used were operationally defined and some relevant assumptions were made with reference to the fact that some of those operationally defined terms could only be applicable in Nigerian context. The limitation of the study has also been noted to the extent that some of the principles, concepts, and models developed in Canada and other confederal states may not be applicable to the Nigerian situation.

Conceptual Framework and Review of Literature

The conceptual framework developed for the study was based on the modification derived from systems theory and environmental model of policy study. An operational definition of policy was derived for the purposes of the study which suggests that a public policy is a major guideline for future discretionary action, a projected program of goal values and practices. Development of policy science was discussed in some detail following the examination of the work of policy scientists led by H. D. Lasswell.

A review of the nature of theoretical models for use in the study of public policy was made. It was suggested that most of these models may all be variations of the systems model when viewed in different structural and functional perspectives. Thus, the systems model was further examined to provide guide for the study. The systems model is conceived as a response of a political system to forces brought to bear upon it from the environment. Forces generated in the environment which affect the political system are viewed as inputs, while the political system is viewed as that group of interrelated structure and processes which function authoritatively to allocate values for a society.

It was pointed out, that since similar environmental conditions may give rise to diverse demand support activities, the systems model's fundamental assumption of conceptualizing environmental variables as direct inputs to the political system appears to present some problems.

In view of the problems underlined, the environmental approach to policy analysis was introduced to complement systems theory as further guide to the study. 'Environmental Approach' is here referred to the efforts of the political system to bring about changes in the environment composed of non-human and human factors, and the response of the political system to these factors.

The Design and Methodology of the Research

The methodology of the research utilized three coordinated techniques in gathering data. The investigation began with a search for documents, was followed up by a trip to Nigeria during which interviews were conducted with key persons in Universities and Governments. The data gathering technique was concluded with a broader questionnaire survey. Interviews, were conducted on formal basis, with 21 key officials and three interviews were conducted informally. The questionnaire brought a total response of 45 out of 60 individuals randomly chosen for the study. They included Deans and heads of departments from the six universities.

Historical Background of Nigerian Education

Documentary sources of data were first used to overview the historical development of Nigerian education from 1843, when the first infant school was established by the early Christian Missions, up to 1947 when the first College (Ibadan College) was established. This early history of Nigerian education was taken as a first step to

provide a picture of the magnitude of the explosion of university education in Nigeria from 1960 - 1976.

Reviewing the background of Nigerian education, it was revealed that the pioneering of Nigeria's education and economic development had been largely due to the efforts of the Christian missions. The former was affected through the school they built, and the latter through the active support they gave to "legitimate trade" as the alternative to the slave trade. The mission's reception in the South and their resistance in the North dictated the pace of educational expenditure in government accounts.

Nigeria's educational plans and development between 1945 and 1970 have been extensively guided by, and largely dependent upon the work of ad hoc Commissions, whose recommendations were endorsed at varying degrees for the purpose of educational planning and development. Report of the Nuffield Foundation showed no interest in it, the World Bank Mission referred to it only tangentially, while both Ashby and Harbison, obsessed by the need for strengthening intermediate education, saw the necessity for expanding the higher education system without making it first choice.

Policy Environment

In Nigeria, an enduring sense of common interest between all groups in the country had not evolved. A desire for national unity and common purpose existed and sometimes was effectual; but in many

instances, especially when a situation contained the possibility of short-term differential benefits particularism was activated.

The major hindrance to sound public policy formulation was the deep division within the country. Certainly, other obstacles existed--for instance, the intrusion of corruption and petty political machinations--but they did not pose as fundamental a threat to the effectiveness of the political system as did the competition and distrust between various groups in the Nigerian society. Federalism was adopted as a means of accommodating these centrifugal societal diversities. Without denying that federalism may have been the only means that promised any success in this experiment in nation-building, it was noted that the federal system had fallen short of the needs of developing countries. Its decentralization of power and responsibility encouraged, and constitutionally sanctioned independent regional activities which precluded a more economical and efficient approach by a nationally-oriented and unified program. The consequent waste of scarce resources was revealed as detrimental to Nigeria's economic development.

Analysis of Interview Data

The interview was to secure an expression of personal views or perceptions on matters relating to the centralization of university coordination. The intent was to pinpoint problems of more pressing nature that could have necessitated such a 'radical' change in the

administration of higher educational institutions.

It was found that university development (especially the Regional universities) was at variance with the quantitative goals of the country's national manpower needs. The establishment of universities for purely political and sectional considerations resulted in many administrative difficulties in university governance. Need for manpower supply, insufficient funding of the universities by the Regions, political intervention by regional politicians and the need to harmonize the philosophy and objective of university education in Nigeria were perceived as factors influencing the policy. However, general pessimism was expressed by university personnel on the ability of the policy to solve most university problems.

Questionnaire Data

The questionnaire provided a breakdown of issues and problems into 34 specific concerns that were revealed from documents and comments of the interviewees. This method permitted the statistical treatment of the data.

On the frequency and rank order of means of factors perceived to influence the policy, a high degree of agreement among all the three Regions was recorded. Although inter-regional comparisons identified four areas of expected improvement, the mean scores on those items were only high enough for marginal improvements. This leaves some doubts as to whether the centralization would actually attack general university

problems. For inter-regional comparisons one-way analysis of variance was used and the critical level of significance set at .05.

For University/Government personnel comparisons of means for factors perceived to influence the policy a two tailed t test was used, with critical level of significance set at .05. Some agreement was found between Government and University personnel on the factors perceived to have influenced the policy and disagreement was recorded between them on the perceived improvements.

II CONCLUSIONS

The Appropriateness of the Model

The methodology employed in this study was derived from a model designated "Systems and Environmental Model". The model proved itself in the following ways. First, instead of studying a particular policy in isolation, heretofore the common practice of political scientists, the totality of government policy was brought within the scope of discussion. All sectors for which national and regional resources were allocated for development purposes--social, cultural, geographical and linguistic, were studied in detail and the basic orientations of various governments in the use of resources was found out. The study of a particular policy separately would not offer much help in arriving at a conclusion regarding the general orientation of governments involved in this study.

Secondly, the different sectors of social and economic development were also studied in relation to each other. This involved the study of the selection of priorities in the allocation of resources and policy in regard to one vis-a-vis the other. The analytical model therefore provided us with a tool to study public policy in its totality as well as in relation to other policies.

Research Findings

The principal findings that emerged from this investigation of Nigeria's policy to centralize university coordination include:

(1) The decision to make higher education a concurrent subject under the Constitution, and the failure of the Independent Constitution (1960) to provide an effective national coordinating mechanism gave rise to a 'situation' in which the actual university development was at variance with the intent and stated quantitative goals of Nigeria's educational plan and social needs.

(2) With the appearance of regional institutions into the Nigerian System in 1960 (Nigerian year of independence), the university administration ceased to be run from the perspectives of social and national manpower needs of the country. Instead, regional interests were allowed to override stated national needs. Rivalry between and among regions geared up the establishment of more regional institutions. This resulted in the duplication of facilities and the noticeable increases in university cost.

(3) The study revealed the part played by financial issues in the non-realization of quantitative national educational goals, thus constituting a significant factor in the present policy decision. Based upon the figures in Chapter 8, the Federal Government and the states estimated that capital expenditure for the expansion of education in Nigeria between 1961-1970 was to be \$225 million for capital expenditure and another \$225 million for recurrent cost.

Between 1962-1967, funds were very much needed in all these universities for salaries of all categories of staff, to erect new buildings, to purchase equipment for classrooms and offices, for maintenance of the library, the grounds for necessary research, scholarships and fellowships to supplement students' needs and for a myriad of other items.

Ibadan and Lagos receive 100 percent subsidy because they are federal institutions. The other four state universities, Ife, Abu, Nsukka, and Benin are partly financed by their respective state governments and partly by the federal government. The election crisis which resulted in the coup and later civil war contributed to the financial problems of the universities. Many of the funds that were to be allocated to these universities were diverted to prosecute the war. The political uncertainties in Nigeria during the civil war scared off foreign donors. Originally, a sum of \$19,622,000 was committed by the external donors to higher education by the period of 1960-1964 in Nigeria, and the sum of \$12,793,000 was actually disbursed by the

end of 1964. The federal government had to amend its previous decision on subsidies to the universities to enable them to adapt to the financial crisis of the period. The amendment was no better as the poor source of university finances continued to grow worse and worse.

The period of 1970-75 was the period of tranquility in the country and as such needed reconstruction. The civil war had come to an end. During 1970-1974 period, total expenditure of \$136.95 million was incurred in the implementation of Federal and State Departments' program in the education sector. This represents 65.2 percent of the total planned estimate of \$209,289 million. Some universities saw the need to raise endowment funds to meet their urgent needs. Since monies raised through endowment funds was not significant enough to meet increased cost of university operations, the regional universities petitioned the Federal Government for more financial support. It would seem that the Federal Government decided to increase its support of regional universities with the condition of imposing direct central coordination.

(4) The unsettled political conditions in the country, the politically motivated crisis in some of the universities and the fusion of political and technical decisions were found to have adversely affected the university operation in the country. The regional-tribal nexus, the sectionalized political party rivalry, the opportunist political party game, and the traditional conflicts between National and group interest placed obstacles against prospects of

universities responding to national interests.

(5) The National Universities Commission (NUC) had not been very effective in its function as a national coordinating agency. Lack of constitutional and legal powers were responsible for its limited accomplishments.

Finally, in view of the tensed political condition in the country, the suspension of the Constitution and the declining regional resource base as a result of the federal take-over of mineral resources, states could not help but call upon the Federal Government to assume the responsibilities of financing and administering universities throughout the country.

III RECOMMENDATIONS

The establishment of the centralized policy of university coordination in Nigeria seems a welcome policy to universities, governments and the public interviewed in this study. For the proper working of the policy the study makes the following recommendations:

1. The course of national unity dictates that all the universities in the country should have a national outlook. This should be reflected in all aspects of the university life. The members of the governing council of each university should be drawn from all over the country; most preferably from among the members of the staff of other universities. The advantages of this cannot be over-emphasized. In the first place it brings together people with fair knowledge of a common interest in university administration, and in the second place

it facilitates exchange of views among the universities on common problems. The non-ex-officio members of the council should cease to be appointed by the government, rather they should be nominated by the Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor who should have better knowledge of the staff of other universities from which the nominations should be made. After the nomination, the members of the university senate and the student government should vote and elect members. Usually more names should be nominated, from which the actual member should be elected. Efforts should be made to avoid the election of active politicians into the membership of the councils.

To facilitate a national and central direction in university administration, a constitutional amendment that will remove higher education from the concurrency list is recommended. This is important if the universities are to reflect national interest.

2. On universities financial support, the study noted that no university can adequately serve the needs of the country unless it is well financed. The governments and the universities should not stop at the centralized policy of university governance, but should co-operate to ensure adequate financial resources for the operations of the universities in such crucial areas as recruitment of very well-qualified staff, application of reasonable student-teacher ratio, equipment of laboratories and libraries, promotion of research and provision of scholarships to qualified and needy students. Failure of the governments in this regard could only lead to the development of second rate institutions in the country.

Governments' financial support for, and non-interference in, the operations of the universities should be achieved through the National Universities Commission acting as an intermediary between the governments on one hand and the universities on the other. The governments should channel all their financial grants to the universities through the Commission which should, after receiving all the annual budgets of the said universities, allocate the funds accordingly. The universities should present their annual reports to the commission which will in turn report to the governments concerned. It should be the duty of the Council to convey to the universities the needs of the country as seen by the governments and request that steps be taken to meet such needs. The Commission should also do everything to promote the spirit of cooperation among the nation's universities.

3. The NUC should be reconstituted to include distinguished citizens knowledgeable about education and manpower problems of the country. As revealed in Chapter 8, the present Commission is limited by its political and sectional orientations. A national system of higher education must be just that and not be distorted by political or other factors unrelated to the achievement of the system's total goals.

All federal monies to be spent on higher education should be placed in a National Universities fund to be at the disposal of the NUC. The contribution of individual communities, governmental agencies and ethnic associations should also be placed in this fund in order to gain the greatest benefits from them. If the members of

the NUC have the respect and confidence of all citizens, such groups and agencies would be willing to maximize the benefit from their funds by permitting the NUC to have control and coordination of their contributions. Greater efficiency from dollars spent on universities will result.

The National Universities Commission should establish a Research Grant Committee to coordinate and supervise the distribution of research funds. By establishing such criteria as the importance of the research to Nigerian society and by ensuring that all research is conducted under competent supervision the country would gain the greatest benefits from funds expended for research. Further, the teaching efforts of staff in higher educational institutions would not be weakened by research expectancies and efforts not in accord with national goals and needs.

Finally, it is recommended that the National Universities Commission which is now a quasi-government agency, should be strengthened by a statutory power to review the university budget.

IV RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION

1. A follow-up study should be done to assess Nigerian University students' attitudes toward the policy of centralization of the university education.

2. After the implementation of the program there is need for a study on the effects of the centralized policy on university governance in relation to:

- i. student academic performance;
- ii. influence of politics in universities, and
- iii. utilization of resource and facilities by the university.

3. Cost-benefit (rate of returns) study in Nigerian higher education is recommended. This will enable the educational and economic planners to answer the question 'Which sector of the economy (education vis-vis other sectors) yields a higher return?' Such information will be very important in the Nigerian context since it will provide a clearer basis for the resolution of many issues related to the nation's development.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Almond, Gabriel A. and Coleman, James S., eds. The Politics of the Developing Areas. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960.
- Altach, Philip. Higher Education in Developing Countires: Some Introductory Notes. Occational Press in International Affairs, Harvard University, No. 21, April 1970.
- Arden, Wesley et. al. Financial Analysis of Current Operations of Colleges and Universities. Institute of Public Administration, University of Michigan, 1966.
- Ashby, Eric. African Universities and Western Tradition. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964.
- _____. Patterns of Universities in Non-European Societies. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1961.
- _____. Universities: British, Indian, African. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966.
- Awa, Eme O. Federal Government in Nigeria. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1964.
- Awolowo, Obafemi. Path to Nigerian Freedom. London: Faber and Faber, 1947.
- Azikiwe, Nnamdi. After Three Years of Stewardship. Enugue: n.d.
- _____. Political Blueprint of Nigeria. Lagos, 1943.
- _____. Renascent Africa. Accra, 1937.
- _____. The Development of Political Parties in Nigeria. London, 1957.
- Baldrige, Victor. Power and Conflict in the University: Research in the Sociology of Complex Organizations. Standford University Press, California, 1971.
- Bassir, Olumbe. Universities Old and New. Ministry of Information, Western Nigeria, 1961.
- Bauer, Raymond A. "The Study of Policy Formation: An Introduction." In Raymond A. Bauer and Kenneth J. Gergen (eds.) The Study of Policy Formation. New York: Free Press, 1968.
- Beard, Ruth M. et. al. Objectives in Higher Education. Society for Research into Higher Education. 2 Woburn Squire, London W.C.I. 1968.

- Bennis, G., et. al. The Planning of Change. Readings in the Applied Behavioral Sciences. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1964.
- Benson, Charles. The Economics of Public School Finance. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1961.
- Berdahl, R. O. Statewide Coordination of Higher Education. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1971.
- Berelson, B. Content Analysis in Communication Research. New York Free Press, 1952.
- Bertalanffy, Ludwig von. General Systems Theory. New York: John Braziller. 1968.
- Birch, A. H. Federalism, Finance and Social Legislation in Canada, Australia and the United States. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955.
- Bissell, C. T. "Canada." In J. A. Perkins (ed.) Higher Education, from Autonomy to Systems. Voice of America Forum Series, 1972.
- Bittinger, D. W. An Educational Experiment in Northern Nigeria in its Cultural Setting. Philadelphia: 1941.
- Clelland, David J. "Understanding Project Authority." In William G. Scott, Organization Concept and Analysis. Belmont, California: Dickenson.
- Coleman, James S. "Problems of Conceptualization in Studying Policy Impacts." In Austin Ranney, Studying the Impact of Public Policies. Social Science Research Council Items, 26:1.
- _____. Nigeria: Background to Nationalism. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960.
- _____. et al. Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1964.
- _____. Education and Political Development. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1965.
- Corry, J. A. and J. E. Hodgetts. Democratic Government and Politics. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959.
- Corry, J. A. "Higher Education in Canada: Trend and Prospects." In J. E. Hodgetts (ed.) Higher Education in a Changing Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966.

- Curle, Adam. The Role of Education in Developing Societies. Accra: Ghana University Press, 1961.
- Davis, Russell. Planning Human Resource Development. Educational Models and Schemata. CSED, Rand McNally Co., Chicago, 1966.
- Denton, F. T. An Analysis of Interregional Differences in Manpower Utilization and Earnings. Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1966.
- Dror, Yehezkel. Public Policymaking Re-examined. Scranton, Pa.: Chandler. 1968.
- _____. "Prolegomena to Policy Sciences." Policy Science 1:135 - 150. 1970.
- _____. Design for Policy Sciences. New York: American Elsevier, 1971.
- _____. Ventures in Policy Sciences. New York: American Elsevier, 1971.
- Dye, Thomas R. and Harmon, Zeigler. The Irony of Democracy. Belmont: Wadsworth, 1970.
- Dye, Thomas R. Understanding Public Policy. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1975.
- Easton, D. A Framework of Political Analysis. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965.
- Ezera, K. Constitutional Development in Nigeria. Cambridge University Press, 1964.
- Fafunwa, A. B. An Historical Analysis of the Development of Higher Education in Nigeria. New York: The New York University Library, 1955.
- Ferguson, G. A. Statistical Analysis in Psychology and Education. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971.
- Gibson, Raymond C. The Challenge of Leadership in Higher Education. Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Co., Inc., 1964.
- Glenny, L. A. and R. O. Berdahl, E. C. Palola, and J. G. Paltridge. Coordinating Higher Education for the 1970's. Berkeley: Centre for Research and Development in Higher Education, 1971.

- Halstead, D. K. Statewide Planning in Higher Education. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1974.
- Hannag, H. W., and Caughey, R. The Legal Base for Universities in Developing Countries. University of Illinois Press, Chicago, 1967.
- Hansen, Lee, et. al. Benefits, Costs and Finance of Public Higher Education (abridged). Harvard Business School, Report, 1970.
- Harbison, Frederick and Myers, Charles A. Education, Manpower and Economic Growth: Strategies of Human Resources Development. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964.
- Harris, Robin, et. al. On Higher Education. Five Lectures. University of Toronto Press, 1966.
- Harris, Seymour. Higher Education. Resources and Finance. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1962.
- Helleiner, Gerald K. Peasant Agriculture, Government and Economic Growth in Nigeria. Homewood, Ill. R.D. Irwin, 1966.
- Hofstadter, Richard, and Walter P. Metzger. The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States. N. Y.: Columbia University Press, 1955.
- Hurtubise, R. and D. C. Rowat. The University, Society and Government. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1970.
- Ikejiani, O. et. al. Education in Nigeria. N. Y.: Praeger, 1965.
- Illugbuhi, Timon. Nigeria's Experience in Domestic Financing of Development. Institute of Administration, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1971.
- Jencks, Christopher and Riesman, David. Academic Revolution. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1968.
- Kaplan, Abraham. The Conduct of Inquiry. San Francisco: Chandler, 1964.
- Katz, Daniel and Robert L. Kahn. The Social Psychology of Organizations. New York: John Wiley, 1966.

- Lasswell, Harold D. "The Emerging Conception of Policy Sciences." Policy Sciences, 1:3 - 14.
- _____. A Preview of Policy Sciences. New York: American Elsevier, 1971.
- _____. "From Fragmentation to Configuration". Policy Sciences. 2: 439 - 446, 1971.
- Lee, E. C. and F. M. Brown. The Multicampus University. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973.
- Lewis, L. J. Society Schools and Progress in Nigeria. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1964.
- Lindbloom, Charles E. "The Science of Muddling Through." Public Administration Review. 19: 79 - 88.
- Lowi, Theodore. "Decision Making vs. Policy Making: Toward an Antidote for Technocracy." Public Administration Review. May/June, 1970: 314-325.
- Mckintosh, John P. Nigerian Government and Politics. London: Allen & Unwin, 1966.
- Macmahon, A. W. (ed.) Federalism: Mature and Emergent. New York: Russel.
- McConnell, T. R. A General Pattern for American Public Higher Education. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962.
- Mellanby, K. Birth of Nigeria's University. London: Methuen, 1958.
- Morel, E. D. Nigeria, Its Peoples and Its Problems. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1911.
- Munroe, D. The Organization and Administration of Education in Canada. Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1974.
- Murray, A. Victor. The School in the Bush. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1929.
- Nduka, O. Western Education and the Nigerian Cultural Background. Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- Nwankwo, Arthur A. and Ifejika, Samuel, U. The Making of a Nation: Biafra. London: C. Hurst and Co., 1969.
- Ochiagha, Gregory O. A History of Education in Eastern Nigeria in 1960. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of American Libraries, 1965.

- Odenigwe, Godwin A. The Constitutional Development of Nigeria: The Origin of Federalism. Clark University Press, 1957.
- Okigbo, P. N. C. Nigerian Public Finance. Evanston, Ill.: North Western University Press, 1965.
- Olubummo, O., and J. Ferguson. The Emergent University. London: Longmans, 1960.
- Palola, E. C., T. Lehmann and W. Blischke. Higher Education by Design, The Sociology of Planning. Berkeley: Centre for Research and Development in Higher Education, 1970.
- Patterson, F. Colleges in Consort. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1974.
- Perkins, J. A. Higher Education: From Autonomy to Systems. Voice of America Forum Series, 1972.
- Pye, Lucian and S. Verba (ed.). Political Culture and Political Development. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1965.
- Ranney, Austin. "Studying the Impact of Public Policies." Social Science Research Council. Items 26:1, 1972.
- Riker, Williams H. Federalism: Origin, Operation and Significance. Boston and Toronto: Little Brown, 1964.
- Rivlin, A. M. The Role of the Federal Government in Financing Higher Education. Washington, D. C.: The Brooklyn Institute, 1961.
- Robertson, Sir Charles Grant. The British Universities. New and rev. ed. London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1944.
- Rothchild, Donald S. Toward Unity in Africa. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1960.
- Rotwell, Charles E. "Forward." In Daniel Lerner and Harold D. Lasswell. The Policy Sciences. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1951.
- Rudner, Richard S. Philosophy of Social Science. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1966.
- Saunders, J. T. University College Ibadan. Cambridge University Press, 1960.

- Schwarz, F. A. O. Jr. Nigerian: The Tribes, the Nation or the Race. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1965.
- Selltiz, Claire et. al. Research Method in Social Science. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963.
- Selzrick, Philip. Leadership and Administration. New York: Harper and Row, 1957.
- Small, J. M. "College Coordination in Alberta: Systems Development and Appraisal." Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University, 1972.
- Sharkansky, Ira. Public Administration. Chicago: Markham, 1970.
- Sklar, Richard L. Nigerian Political Parties. Princeton, J. J. Princeton University Press, 1963.
- Smelser, N. J. and G. Almond. Public Higher Education in California. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974.
- Stanley and Campbell. Experimental and Quasi Experimental Design for Research. (Rand McNally and Co., Chicago), 1963.
- Stroup, Herbert. Bureaucracy in Higher Education. The Free Press, New York, 1967.
- Sverdlow, Irving. Development Administration Concepts of Problems. Syracuse University Press, 1963.
- Taylor, A. (ed.) Education and Occupational Selection in West Africa. Oxford University Press, 1962.
- Thorton, James W., Jr. The Community Junior College, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966.
- Ukeje, O. Nigerian Needs and Nigerian Education: A Study of Critical Needs of an Emergent Nation and the Role of Education in Meeting Them. New York: Columbia University Library, 1957.
- Ume, T. A. Low Socio-Economic People: Human Rights Awareness. Edmonton: University of Alberta Library, 1973.
- Venkatarangaiya, M. Competitive and Cooperative Trends in Federalism. Bombay, 1950.
- Weiler, Hans N., (ed.) Education and Politics in Nigeria. Rombach: Freidburg in Breisgau, 1964.

Wheare, Joan. Nigerian Legislative Council. London: Faber and Faber, 1950.

Wilson, L. Shaping American Higher Education. Washington: American Council of Education, 1972.

Yesufu, T. M. (ed.). Manpower Problems and Economic Development in Economic Development. Lagos, 2-11 March, 1964. Oxford University Press, Ibadan, 1969.

Zimiro, Ikenna. "The Igbo in the Modern Setting" in the CONCH Igbo Traditional Life, Culture and Literature Echeruo and Obiechina (eds.). A Sociological Journal of Culture and Literature (University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Nigeria), 1971.

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Colonial Office Publications

Education Policy in British Tropical Africa. Cmd. 2374. London: HMSO, 1936.

Report of the Commission on the Marketing of West African Cocoa. Cmd. 5845. London: HMSO, 1938.

Proposals for the Revision of the Constitution of Nigeria. Cmd. 6599. London: 1945.

Report of the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies. Cmd. 6647. London: 1945. (The 'Asquith Report')

Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa. Cmd. 6655. London: 1945. (The 'Elliot Report')

Report by the Conference on the Nigerian Constitution Held in London in July and August, 1953. Cmd. 8934. London: 1953.

Report by the Resumed Conference on the Nigerian Constitution Held in Lagos in January and February, 1954. Cmd. 9059. London: 1954.

Report by the Nigeria Constitutional Conference Held in London in May and June, 1957. Cmd. 207. London: 1957.

Report of the Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Fears of Minorities and the Means of Allaying Them. Cmd. 505. London: 1958.

Report of the Fiscal Commission. Cmd. 481. London: 1958.

Report by the Resumed Constitutional Conference Held in London in September and October, 1958. Cmd. 569. London: 1959.

Nigerian Government Publications

A Ten-Year Plan of Development and Welfare for Nigeria. Sessional Paper No. 6, 1945. Lagos: 1946.

Memorandum on Educational Policy in Nigeria. Sessional Paper No. 20, 1947. Lagos: 1947.

Report of the Commission Appointed by His Excellency the Governor to Make Recommendations about the Recruitment and Training of Nigerians for Senior Posts in the Government Service of Nigeria. Lagos: 1948.

Phillipson, Sir Sydney. Grants in Aid of Education in Nigeria: A Review with Recommendations. Lagos: 1948.

Memorandum on Local Government Policy in the Eastern Provinces. Lagos: 1949.

Review of the Constitution -- Regional Recommendations. Lagos: 1949.

Proceedings of the General Conference on Review of the Constitution, January, 1950. Lagos: 1950.

Review of the Constitution of Nigeria: Despatch dated the 15th July, 1950 from the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Sessional Paper No. 20, 1950.

Local Government Ordinance 1950.

Report of the Commission on Revenue Allocation. Lagos: 1951.

Local Government in the Western Provinces of Nigeria, 1951. Ibadan: 1951.

Maddocks, K. P., and D. A. Pott. Report on Local Government in the Northern Provinces of Nigeria. Kaduna: 1951.

A Revised Plan of Development and Welfare for Nigeria, 1951-56. Sessional Paper No. 6, 1951. Lagos: 1951.

Population Census of Nigeria, 1952-53. Lagos: 1953.

- Western Region, Ministry of Education. Proposals for an Education Policy for the Western Region, Nigeria. Ibadan: 1952.
- Report of the Fiscal Commissioner on Financial Effects of Proposed New Constitutional Arrangements. Lagos: 1953.
- Phillipson, Sir Sydney, and S. O. Adebo. The Nigerianization of the Civil Service -- A Review of Policy and Machinery. Lagos: 1954.
- Eastern Region, Sessional Paper No. 4 of 1954 (Universal Primary Education Scheme). Enugu: 1954.
- Handbook of Commerce and Industry in Nigeria, 3rd ed. Lagos: 1957.
- Investment in Education: The Report of the Commission on Post-School Certificate and Higher Education in Nigeria. Lagos: Federal Ministry of Education, 1960.
- Joint Consultative Committee on Education. Memorandum on the Professional Aspects of the Ashby Report. Lagos: 1960.
- Western Region. White Paper on the Establishment of a University in Western Nigeria. Sessional Paper No. 12 of 1960. Ibadan: 1960.
- Report of the Inter-University Council Delegation -- University of Northern Nigeria, April, 1961.
- Western Region. Report of the Commission Appointed to Review the Educational System of Western Nigeria. Ibadan: 1961 (The 'Banjo Commission')
- Oldman, H. The Administration of Primary Education (In Northern Nigeria). Kaduna: c. 1961.
- Federation of Nigeria. Educational Development, 1961-70. Lagos: 1961.
- Federation of Nigeria. Federal Government Development Programme, 1962-68. Sessional Paper No. 1 of 1962. Lagos: 1962.
- Eastern Region. Report on the Review of the Education System in Eastern Nigeria. Official Document No. 19 of 1962. Enugu: 1962. (The 'Dike Report').
- National Universities Commission. University Development in Nigeria. Lagos: 1963.
- National Universities Commission. Annual Report, 1964.

National Manpower Board. Manpower Situation in Nigeria. (Preliminary Report) Lagos: 1963.

National Manpower Board. Nigeria's High-Level Manpower, 1963-1970. (National Manpower Board Study No. 2) Lagos: 1964.

Eastern Region. Report of the Conference on the Review of the Education System in Eastern Nigeria. Enugu: 1964. (The 'Ikoku Report')

Federal Ministry of Labour. Quarterly Reports (1965).

Fiscal Review Commission Report. Lagos: 1965.

House of Representatives Debates, 1952 ff. Lagos: Government Printer.

Northern House of Assembly Debates, 1952 ff. Kaduna: Government Printer.

Eastern House of Assembly Debates, 1952 ff. Enugu: Government Printer.

Western House of Assembly Debates, 1952 ff. Ibadan: Government Printer.

Western House of Chiefs Debates, 1952-53. Ibadan: Government Printer.

Annual Reports of the Federal and Regional Public Service Commissions.

Local Government Year Book. Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University, Inst. of Admin., 1963, 1964.

Mid-Western Nigeria. House of Assembly Reports, 1965.

Nigeria. Dept. of Education. Annual Reports, 1950/51; 1951/52.

Federal Education Department. Annual Reports, 1955-1959.

Federal Education Department. Digest of Statistics, 1955-1959.

Federal Ministry of Education. Annual Report, 1960.

_____. Digest of Statistics, 1960.

_____. Annual Digest of Education Statistics, 1961, 1962.

_____. Statistics of Education in Nigeria (1963-65, annual).

Annual Report of the Education Department, Northern Region, 1951/52-1954/55.

Annual Summary of the Education Department of the Northern Region of Nigeria, 1955/56-1956/57.

Northern Nigeria. School Statistics of Northern Nigeria. (1961-1963, annual).

Ministry of Education, Northern Nigeria. Classes, Enrolments and Teachers in the Schools of Northern Nigeria, 1964.

Eastern Region, Nigeria. Annual Report of the Education Department, 1956, 1957.

Eastern Nigeria. Ministry of Education. Annual Reports, 1958-1963.

Western Region of Nigeria. Annual Abstract of Education Statistics, 1953-1958.

_____. Triennial Report on Education, 1955-58.

_____. Ministry of Education. Report, 1959.

OTHER RELEVANT PUBLICATIONS

African Education Commission. Education in Africa. New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1922.

The Ibo, the Hausa, the Yoruba (a study of the federal unity of Nigeria).
Yaba, Nigeria: The Creative Publishing Syndicate, c. 1953.

Action Group of Nigeria. Lagos Belongs to the West, 1953.

Azikiwe, Nnamdi. The Evolution of Federal Government in Nigeria, c. 1955.

Eastern Nigeria. University of Nigeria Law, 1955.

Action Group of Nigeria. A Tract on Higher Education. (Action Group Manifesto, 1958. Mimeographed.)

Eastern Nigeria. University of Nigeria, Nsukka. E. R. Official Document No. 4 of 1958.

UNESCO. Final Report, Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa, Addis Ababa, 15-25, May, 1961.

University of Nigeria, Prospectus 1962-63.

University of Nigeria. Annual Report 1962-63. University of Nigeria
Official Document No. 5 of 1963.

Kenya Education Commission. Report. Nairobi: 1964. 2 vols.

APPENDIX A
(Interview Record)

Name of Interviewee
 Position
 Address

Questions	Responses
1. What is the level or extent of your involvement in matters that relate directly or indirectly to the administration or coordination of university education in Nigeria?	
2. What trends, good or bad, have you observed in University education, in the state in which you work over the past few years?	

Probe:

Have you observed much of an increase in demand for university education?

If not, why not?

If yes, from what part of the country is the increased demand coming?

How do you see the reaction of the states and universities to the increased demand?

What facilities have been enlarged as a result of the increased demand?

Questions	Responses
<p>3. In your opinion what were the circumstances, events or decisions which had greatest influence on the establishment of the "Centralization Policy" in Nigeria?</p> <p>Probe:</p> <p>Is there one single event (social, political, cultural and environmental)?</p> <p>Were there central figures or groups behind the policy.</p> <p>Was there a combination or chain of events that culminated in the change?</p>	
<p>4. In your opinion, is access to university education a significant issue in the establishment of the policy?</p> <p>Probe:</p> <p>If not, why not?</p> <p>If yes, is inequality in access, related to:</p> <p>(a) tribal groups</p> <p>(b) geographical or regional groups</p> <p>(c) socioeconomic levels.</p>	

Questions	Responses
<p>5. In your opinion, to what extent are the following significant issues in the establishment of the policy?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) responsiveness of universities to demands (b) effectiveness of the universities in relationship to the stated goals (c) efficiency in the use of scarce resources (d) duplication of programs and facilities. 	
<p>6. In your view, to what extent do you think political patronage was a major factor in the location and administration of Nigerian Universities from 1960 to 1975?</p> <p>Probe:</p> <p>Can you give some examples?</p>	

Questions	Responses
<p>7. To what extent, in your view do you think the universities, as administered and coordinated before the centralized control, were able to realize objectives in the following areas:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) social needs, (b) the provision of professional level manpower, (c) technology-level manpower, (d) the advancement of knowledge. 	
<p>Following the Ashby Report, the National Universities Commission was established by the Federal Government for the purposes of monitoring and coordinating university education in Nigeria.</p> <p>8. Was the agency (NUC) generally effective or ineffective?</p> <p><u>Probe:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (A) Procuring financial resources for university system; (B) Distributing the resources equitably; (C) Advising the Government of specific university needs; (D) Coordinating programs 	

Questions	Responses
<p>9. What do you consider were the main factors which limited the level of effectiveness of the NUC in performing its functions?</p> <p><u>Probe:</u></p> <p>Extent of legal authority given to the National Universities Commission?</p> <p>Resistance of the universities?</p> <p>Nature of the membership (Acceptability of universities and state governments)?</p> <p>Resistance of State Governments?</p> <p>Resistance of Federal Government?</p>	
<p>PERCEIVED ROLES AND EXPECTATION</p> <p>10. What specific concerns or issues with regard to the policy do you face in the subsequent conduct of your functions?</p>	
<p>11. How will the new policy affect the university generally?</p> <p>-- in terms of research, particularly in physical and social sciences</p> <p>-- in terms of programs and method of instruction</p> <p>-- financial resources, business management, support, and faculty policy?</p>	

Questions	Responses
<p>12. In what ways will the centralization policy enable universities to serve the community?</p> <p><u>Probe:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Individuals, (b) Social agencies, and (c) Business enterprises? 	
<p>13. How will the new policy affect state interests?</p> <p><u>Probe:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> In terms of constitutional rights? In terms of economic development? In terms of cultural development? 	
<p>14. How will the new policy affect national interests?</p> <p><u>Probe:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> National identity? 	

COMMENTS :

APPENDIX B
(Interview Transcript)

COLLATED COMMENTS FROM THE CATEGORIZATION OF
PARTICIPANTS' RESPONSES INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS

COLLATED COMMENTS FROM THE CATEGORIZATION OF
PARTICIPANTS' RESPONSES INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS

A01

No direct involvement.

High demand response for higher education.

The demand comes from all over the country, and the nation responds by legislation, at least, a university for each state. Faculties in agriculture, Engineering, the Sciences, and Medicines have been enlarged in existing universities, and new ones created.

The national awareness of equal opportunities is viewed as a precondition for unity, growth and development which the nation badly needs.

Lack of adequate educational facilities for Nigeria's development program is a significant stepping issue toward the policy. University specialization in some courses rather than duplication of each course in all universities was considered an economic project plan which would achieve national objectives.

University enrolments have increased 300 per cent within a decade (the late sixties to mid-seventies) while at the same time more universities had been built. The extent of duplication in the new universities has reduced, while most of the universities were established to specialize in particular fields of study and research. Particular attention has been paid to the sciences and technology and cultural arts.

Prior to 1965 political patronage played a major part in the location and administration of universities. Three of the five universities were state-owned and politics exerted greatest influence. Employment staffing, and admission and other administrative policies were state-centred; research and production endeavours were directed toward meeting state goals.

With the institution of the new policy, politics seem to play a minor role. All existing and new universities become national institutions; the powers of the states over the universities were abrogated.

The Universities to the extent of the facilities available were able to achieve these objectives in states or regions in which they operate. But the services were just like a drop in the bucket--most parts of the nation never felt the impact of the universities which are supposed to serve them. So at the national level of effectiveness the universities were a failure in achieving the desired objectives.

Based on the performance of the universities the NUC proved completely ineffective. Coordination and financial procurement was almost impossible since the universities' financing policies and goals were controlled by the states which owned them.

Resistance of state governments, backed by their financial status behind the universities.

I am not involved directly, but I would hope the policy is going to work given the opportunities.

It will promote development at local levels. Research would be more related to local needs and national needs as well. But the policy would entail devoting high financial resources and management expertise for its successful growth and sustainment. The shortage of these two factors could prove a determining effect on the new policy.

By localizing research to local needs. By establishing local industries and enterprises for which the universities would provide the manpower needs.

The new policy would not infringe upon the constitutional rights of the states; and is not expected to conflict with the states' development interests, but to promote it.

Major national research objectives could be achieved via the universities. The new policy may serve as a big instrument to foster national awareness and identity.

A02

Not much.

Yes. Mostly from the North, South East and Rivers and generally in the whole country. Ten new universities have been created and about four Technical Colleges.

Political--Most universities' crises e.g. Lagos University, Ibadan University crisis and University of Ife Academic upheaval are politically and tribally motivated.

Yes.

Yes.

Yes.

Significant issue.

Significant.

I have no opinion.

Significant.

Political patronage very much influenced the location of University of Nigeria at Nsukka--Dr. Zik, location of Ife at Ife Ife, location of Ahmadu Bello University at Zaria.

Very fair.

Good.

Excellent.

Good.

In my opinion the (NUC) was generally ineffective.

Effective.

Ineffective.

Ineffective.

Ineffective.

The nature of membership, the limited legal authority given to NUC and resistance of federal government to some extent limited the effectiveness of NUC.

Promotion of Research.

No Effect.

No Effect.

Little effect.

I don't envisage difference whatsoever between the precentralization and post-centralization periods.

Economically it is a great relief to states because no state can successfully maintain a university alone. Cultural identity and national unity will be fostered.

Will foster unity in the Nation at least to a small extent and permit the quest for University by States.

A03

Executive involvement.

One hundred per cent increase in the demand for university education. From all parts of the country. Positive reaction--More halls of

residence for more students. More lectural theatres and teaching facilities.

The need for greater and more effective coordination of university education in Nigeria. It was by popular demand, everybody wanted it. Partially yes. Higher education for almost everybody who wanted it and who had the intellectual capacity for it.

Effectiveness of the universities in relationship to the stated goals, and duplication of programs and facilities.

Some political patronage and consideration in the siting of universities in the 1960's e.g. Ife University, Ahmadu Bello University, Nsukka--University of Nigeria. No political consideration in 1975.

- (a) to a high extent
- (b) to a considerable extent
- (c) to a considerable extent
- (d) to a high extent

It was very ineffective in C & D until 1975 when the present military administration gave it executive powers to deal with certain important issues of higher education.

Inadequate executive powers.

Generally more, because everybody is happy with it.

Good and positive effect.

Perhaps no effect.

Good and positive effect.

Service will be nationwide, but education for the individual more high level manpower for business enterprises and national economy.

It is the nation that exercises constitutional rights not states.

National interest is bound to be more protected educationally than before. It will enhance national identity.

A04

Both administrative and teaching.

Yes.

Everywhere.

Positive.

Expansion of existing universities and building of new ones.

Purely political.

I don't know for certain.

Yes.

Yes.

Related to geographical or regional groups.

Yes--large extent.

Yes--some extent.

Yes--large extent.

Yes--large extent.

To a large extent political patronage was a major factor in the location and administration of Nigeria Universities from 1960 to 1975.

(a), (b), (c) and (d) to some extent.

The (NUC) was generally effective in procuring financial resources for university system, for distributing the resources equitably, advising the government of specific university needs; and coordinating programs it was awfully ineffective.

Extent of legal authority and resistance of the universities were the main factors which limited the level of effectiveness of the NUC in performing its functions.

None.

There may be an increase because of more research funds. In terms of programs there is no way the policy will affect programs and method of instruction. Equally so with financial resource business management, support and faculty administration.

I can't see any difference.

In terms of constitutional rights--who defines rights? For economic development, I would say positive, and for cultural development, I would not say much.

Strengthen federal presence whenever the universities function and so increase local awareness of federal identity as a superior one to local identity.

A05

Minimal--largely through the faculty board meeting and Vice Chancellors meetings.

Yes--increase in demand, largely from Northern group of states. Remember, that distribution of universities in the past was unbalanced geographically.

Growing demand for university education in general; the imbalance in benefactors in the past from university education re geographical areas. Uncontrolled development in establishing universities. Imbalance in financial status of the universities. Increase cost to the federal and state governments. Social pressure for equal education opportunities. Need to balance and lesson competition and lesson competition re: academic staff. No one factor accounts adequately for no one interest group can claim responsibility for it.

I am not sure I can rank relative importance of these factors. You have to think of other exigencies at the time the decision was taken. The time factor is critical.

Yes--but I consider your geographical factor as the single most important factor.

It is a well known fact that among the Yoruba tribe in Kwara State, the Offa Yorubas have greater numbers of educated group. The imbalance in one geographical area among one tribe is reflected in the imbalance in scholarship distribution (an inverse relationship) today.

Very significant.

Not significant.

Somewhat significant.

Significant.

I think you should split this period into two--pre- and post-civil war period. Before 1967, university location was primarily a political decision. Post-war period, some of those harsh realities which cause the nation to rock to peril was brought to light. Location now can no longer be said to be solely a political decision. Consideration of even or what you call balance development in the country is an important factor.

If the universities had any freedom, it was in the choice of what they teach, what kinds of graduates they produce etc. The nature of administrative control seems to me to be limited to how students are enrolled or graduate each session. Your area of concern have do not seem to me to be dependent on the structure of university administration.

The impact of the commission was through the vice-chancellors and

department heads. You know as well as I do I know that by the time decisions taken by NUC filter through governments, Vice Chancellors and Heads of Departments, the decision lose in effectiveness and vitality.

The absence of direct linkage to staff and students of the Universities.

I can't say for certain because the policy decision is not fully implemented.

I can foresee both detrimental and positive effects. Possibly the universities will become sterilized by uniformity. I can't see how academic, professional triumph can emerge from a central authority base. On the other hand it can be a good political move re: unity of Nigeria.

It cannot be guaranteed unless through budgetary control.

Will remove state interest from university almost entirely.

May be fostered to a greater extent.

May be fostered through co-existence.

There is no guarantee in my judgement that economic development will be enhanced.

A06

Member of the Faculty of Science of my University.

(i) Awareness among the academic staff for the establishment of graduate research programs. This will enhance research into problems of local interest and would therefore benefit the community. Yes, a great one indeed. From all over the country and a bit more from the south. Both the states and the universities would want to encourage the increased demand for as long as the available facilities can allow.

(ii) There is greater enrollment of students without proportionately increasing facilities. This is a good trend and progress is being made in this direction. Students and staff have therefore to make full use of whatever facilities there are.

Facilities already enlarged include (i) Halls of residence--suitable buildings around the University campus were taken over on rent for student housing. (ii) Large auditoriums and arts theatres are used as classrooms for large classes. (iii) In a number of cases, wooden Prefabricated buildings have been put up to ease congestion say for labs, etc.

Comments: Efficient audiovisual systems are very badly desired in these improvised places and in the large lecture theatres too.

It is the fact that the Federal Government felt that the students and staff in a state university, whose origin is mostly of that state,

would normally have a lot of emotional allegiance to that state (or clean). The University being the seat of wisdom and higher education would therefore become cradles for nurturing plots and events which might threaten the very integrity and existence of the Nation as one entity, whenever there is cause for this.

(ii) A result of high costs and increased enrollment, it became impossible for the states alone to run. The Universities with the little subsidy they got from the Federal Government. There was therefore an increased demand on the Federal Government for an increase in subsidy. So, rather than do this, it was considered better by the Federal Government that they took complete control.

(iii) In a situation in which a University was owned and run by a single pre-1967 region of the country, there started to exist friction among the states which were created in 1967 out of the single region (eg. East Central, Rivers and South East states created out of former Eastern region). In some cases, a state may opt out of the entire responsibility, e.g. River state opted out of the University of Nigeria. Probe; Yes, Event #3(i) as given above is central.

Yes, there were central figures.

Yes. the combination is:

(iii) above then (ii) above then (i) was achieved without effort. The order of importance is as given above i.e. (i) (ii) (iii).

No. Reason: If access to University education was a significant issue in the establishment of the policy, the federal government could achieve this end (i.e. increasing access) by building some more universities owned and run entirely by Federal Government while still letting the states run theirs.

All these four issues a, b, c, and d are of little or no significance.

This was a means whereby a political group could show their concern about the welfare of the people in their area of influence. So, if political Party B could build a university for their people, the Party A had to prove that they could do some for their own people. 1st University of Nigeria in the East, then 2nd came the University of Ife in West, etc.

All four objectives were achieved to quite some significant extent.

- (a) Social: Doctors, Nurses, Councillors, qualified teachers.
- (b) Professional level manpower: and Architects and Engineers.
- (c) as for (b)
- (d) qualified people in the arts and sciences.

The commission did a bit of good work in the first instance with regard to all five issues.

(a) -- (e) but with the birth of more universities, it became quite an arduous task for it. So of course, not much could be achieved.

(i) Different Universities were established with different ideologies in the mind of the founders of University of Nigeria started from the word "go" as an American oriented while University of Ibadan then the only one was British oriented and still conservative. It would then be difficult to coordinate issues on a fine scale.

(ii) Within each university there are people (academic and otherwise) of quite some outstanding calibre who would naturally often stick to their guns on issues pertaining to their particular University such people would be least likely to give in on issues dealing with normalizing events in all universities.

(iii) Each University often represents the sentiments of the local people and so this would make it difficult for an outside body to change certain policies.

Probe: -- Resistance of the University.
Nature of the membership.

None particularly.

The new policy will certainly make more money available from federal purse for research in the physical and social sciences, then the states would have given.

Part, in terms of grants from foreign countries and Universities, the takeover is dangerous. Since the government can stop an assistance from any University of Country which is not in the good books of the federal government for some reason (eg. (Affiliation of University of Nigeria with Michigan State University was interfered with by Federal Government at end of civil war).

Programs and method of instruction:

The government can have a lot of influence here too.

Financial resources etc.:

I also envisage a lot of government interference in all these issues.

Comment: I fear that academic freedom is now in jeopardy under the new legislation.

(a), (b) and (c) I wonder if there will be any difference in any of these three.

Constitutional rights: I do not know.

Economic Development: Some bit but rather indirect since the state can still make use of the expertise of the University staff and also the facilities available within the University for any purpose they want at minimal expense.

Cultural Development: This will be adversely affected since this will be view of the Federal Government as a rather clannish trend.

National Identity: This will be enhanced among students and staff and the entire country in general.

Peace and Harmony: This will be enhanced too in terms of one Nigeria since the Government is in control of the institutions and no one dares raise his head.

Economic Development: This will be enhanced in view of the fact that the Government can make use of the University--staff/facilities as her tools for whatever job.

(1) I am of the opinion that each university in Nigeria be represented in terms of this questionnaire because each has its unique history and so the circumstances surrounding the government take-

over are different from one University to the other.

(a) In some questions (#11, 9, 12) the answer to the questions are actually same as for the probe. So, I suggest that the probe be deleted if it is technically acceptable.

A07

Involved with the administration of Secondary Schools through the Minister of Education. Universities draw students from these Secondary Schools. Involved in ensuring that high standard of education are maintained in the Schools.

Good:

- 1) Greater awareness and pursuit for University Education.
- 2) Numerical expansion, wider choice of courses and greater emphasis on local needs.
- 3) Better financial arrangement for students in form of loans and bursaries.
- 4) Better deployment of graduates--used for fostering National unity--National Youth Service.

Bad:

- 1) Localizes students.
 - 2) Seems to stabilize the notion that once a graduate the Government owes you employment.
 - 3) Still looks down on Higher Technical Education.
- 1) Finance: At the end of the civil war, U. N. N. was financially down and the regional Government, could not cope with the necessary reconstruction. Hence the Federal Government took over. Probably other states wanted it so to alleviate the financial burden.
 - 2) Political: It appeared to the Federal Government that Nigeria's past troubles were hatched in the Universities--University Dons were considered more Fibrilistic than was healthy. Hence, in the name of Unity, centralization would remove the possibility of a Professor being acceptable only in his own state. Students would be free to apply and study anywhere in the country.
 - 3) Curriculum: To be able to direct University Education the needs of the country, and avoid duplication. If one were to talk of a single event or cause for the change, it is political, which in turn brings in others.

I would say yes to this question, because the number of Universities established in the Northern part of the country at the moment confirms this. I think we have same number in North as in South--and this appears to be an attempt to correct the educational imbalance between North and South.

1. Equality of access, 2. Reduction of duplication, 3. Improved affectiveness and Responsiveness to demand and efficient use of facilities.

Efficiency can be considered on the national level, not in individual universities, and as such the University can only be considered

efficient when they avoid duplication, are responsive to demands and are effective.

Political patronage was a major factor. Ife, Nsukka and Ahmadu Bello came into being because of rivalry between A. G., N.C.W.C. and N.P.C., and the respective staff and students seemed to affiliate to a large extent, otherwise they would be accused of biting the finger that fed them.

At the end of the civil war, surprisingly enough some university profs from other universities called for the closure of Nsukka, as a reprisal to the part of the country where it is situated.

Professional level--yes

Technology-level manpower--no, because some of the universities were not technically oriented.

Advancement of Knowledge--only very few benefited.

Social needs--only to a limited extent.

The Ashby Report was not ineffective. The recommendations were a long term proposal and till now the recommendations are being implemented, hence the establishment of more universities since 1970. But because of mounting political interference in Universities administration the NUC wasn't very affective in the areas emanciaded.

I am not very familiar with this area, but I think that the resistance of state governments was largely responsible, then, the resistance of the Universities, and the nature of membership.

University entry requirements will be uniform and consequently standards in Secondary Schools throughout the country will be uniform.

There will be greater cooperation in research and areas of specialization. A drama similar to Njoku-Obis Cholera vaccine may not be repeated, because any University operates on the national level, not state and its achievement is a national not tribal achievement.

However, it would be better to allow some flexibility in matters of administration, faculty policy, and external financial support for certain programs. If all monetary matters pass through Federal Government, it will retard research.

Individuals: May improve his outlook, from being parochial to national. May rely on his ability rather than political affiliation. True Scholarship may emerge.

Social Agencies--can cooperate with universities and delimit their needs, ie., make recommendation to NUC about the type of manpower required.

Business Enterprise--will also have a say in the type of manpower required.

Assuming that culture is enriched when it comes in contact with other cultures, people from different ethnic groups will come to understand each other.

I don't think that it affects any state constitutionally if the permission to establish a university is removed.

It will promote unity, understanding and national consciousness. It will take over the service intended to be rendered by the National Youth Service--oneness. In the absence of redundant services, duplication and uniform financial policy, there will be room for more development.

A08

For three years I was involved on a Departmental and Faculty level. Represented the Department on the Faculty Committees, Budget of Examinations and Curriculum. Acted as Special Advisor to Prof. Helte (History) when he acted as Head of Languages, when the Head was on leave.

1. Good: Great improvement in the quality of education due to more trained and permanent staff, better teaching facilities.

2. Increase in the number of students, providing greater competition among students for academic excellence.

Great improvement in the quality and preparedness of new students.

Bad: University education tends to become a status symbol, creating a privileged class of new bourgeois self-conscious Nigerians.

Good: There has been a phenomenal increase in the demand for University education, resulting in intense competition for admissions into universities. -- In most cases the Universities are not equipped to meet with these demands because of incapacity to enlarge facilities due to lack of funds. -- Very little indeed has been done in the way of enlarging facilities. Departments are still limited to a fixed number of students they may admit. All departments in the humanities, for instance are generally limited to 30 new admissions each academic year.

Rather than provide funds to enlarge facilities in existing Universities, the governments decided to found more (six in 1975) to meet with increase in demand for university education.

I think the "Centralization Policy" was adopted for a number of reasons:

1. States founded universities which they later were unable to fund; then they called upon the Federal Government which was not a party to the founding of the University to help bear the cost. 2. States were vying with one another on the foundation of Universities; this became a political strategy rather than a socially orientated action. There was danger of duplication and proliferation of universities to the detriment of academic standards. 3. There was need to insulate universities from local influences and pressures, political, tribal etc. by ensuring their financial independence vis a vis the state governments; equally there was need to give universities a national outlook. 4. There was need to give all universities equal opportunity for revenue and consequently equally opportunity for growth, research and service to the nation.

--I don't think that the policy was the work of any "central figures or groups". -- Among the events that led to the centralization policy, one could mention in particular a) the portion of the former Regions into small and economically more dependent states. With this partition, there arose the problem of which state owns the University, in the division of assets. b) the inability of the new states to support the Universities, c) the danger of state controlled universities discriminating in admissions against prospective students from other states--especially from any state that may have refused to participate in bearing the cost of running the University -- example the Rivers State refused to participate in joint ownership of the University of Nigeria, formerly owned by the Eastern Region Government.

Yes a very significant one indeed.

I think access to university education is related primarily to socioeconomic level. However, access to a University in a particular locality is related both to the socioeconomic level of that area and to the tribal and geographical groups of the region.

Generally, people from the upper national middle-class gain admission to Universities outside their areas because 1. They are less parochial in outlook and therefore don't attach any particular importance to attending the Institution "nearest to home". 2. They generally do well in the competitive entrance examinations. 3. In case of difficulty in securing admission on merit, these students can count on well-placed friends and relations to put in a word on their behalf.

I think b, a and d -- in that order -- are quite significant issues.

As stated already (see Q. 3, (iii)) during this period the establishment of Universities by the then Regional governments was as much a political imperative as a service to advance education. The NCNC controlled government of the then Eastern Region founded the University of Nigeria which became the centre and the stronghold of the Party's intellectual and ideological diffusion among the future elites of the society. The NPC followed suite with founding the Amadu-Bello University. The name of this university was in itself politically significant, since Amadu Bello was then the leader of the Party which founded the University. The Action Group, then did like the rest and founded the University of Ife, in spite of the fact that there was already the University of Ibadan in the West, only about 60 miles from Ife. It is significant to note that each of these Political Parties founded "its own" University in the area under its political authority. The siting of the University was often done against the best advice of experts. Personal interests being the major deciding factor. The University of Nigeria Nsukka is a classical example where the wish of one man prevailed against both expert advice and the expressed wish of the people.

The village of Nsukka, in the most backward area of the then Eastern Region, had neither water supply, nor roads, nor any elementary facilities to recommend siting a University there. Yet the University was located there. Sometimes the University community has had to run

short of water for as long as five days.

a) If by "social needs" we mean here "influence on the community," I would say--almost none. The case of Nsukka again easily comes to mind. Although the University has been in the town for about fifteen years, the average Nsukka villager has not been influenced, in fact seems to have regressed fifty years behind.

b) I think a lot has been achieved in this area as well as in (c).

d) Due to lack of fund, research facilities in many areas have not made any significant contributions. There have, however been "major breakthroughs" in Microbiology (Prof. A. N. U. Njoku-Obi), Biochemistry (Prof. Ogen), Major publications in History (esp. African) literature and the social science.

a) Can't say.

b) Can't say.

c) Effective.

d) Can't say.

e) Ineffective.

Extent of legal authority. It was rather an Advisory establishment and powerless to control decisions made by Regional governments on matters of University education based on purely political considerations. Resistance or outright rejection by Regional Governments which were too jealous of their authority and autonomy.

--Unnecessary and even harmful intervention of the Government in Academic matters: Dismissing Academics for reasons other than academic competence and professional integrity.

--Civil servants making decisions in matters where they may not have any competence.

--bureaucratic delays.

--Could stimulate research if funds are provided.

--Could hinder bold steps in program development since Universities may be too cautious.

--May also destroy the sense of autonomy and freedom in research and publications--leading to frustration of intellectually adventurous academics.

--could provide much-needed financial resources.

The Universities may adapt a more "popular" approval and imitate the government attitude of service to the individual by enlarging extra-mural teaching and correspondence courses, continuing education and Refresher courses.

--Greater and closer support with social agencies especially government agencies in matters of personnel etc.

--Emphasis in high level manpower training will be determined more by practical needs in business and industry as directed by the government.

States will be freed from the financial burden of supporting Universities. They will, therefore, have more money for direct social services to the people.

Loss of control of Higher Education (Universities) implies for the state governments less of prestige and limitations of areas of influence.

The new policy could lead to slowing down the development of research in local cultures especially of ethnic groups that have no university located in their areas.

Could be helpful; will depend on how well the principles and guidelines are applied.

The centralization policy has some things going for it, coordination, reduction of unnecessary duplication, equality of access, etc.

However landable these objectives are, their real value will depend on how they are applied. It is, therefore, too early to evaluate the policy.

Centralization, in fact any form of direct government intervention in academic matters is consequential. There is the danger of using such controls for political and ideological aims, resulting in a very nefist intellectual "drigism".

In Nigeria the centralization policy could eventually lead to a more acrimonious political and tribal struggle to control the federal government and thereby control Nigerian Universities.

Centralization could destroy the individuality of Nigerian Universities creating thereby "uniform" Universities in Nigeria. Imposition of quotes and specialisation on University by government in the area of avoiding duplication stifles initiative and kills creativity and originality.

The declared objective of "access" to university education for many could easily lead to the flooding of Nigerian universities with students who have neither the capacity nor even the potentiality of succeeding in University Education.

This could, in turn, create problems in the area of low and middle grade technical skill, since the lure of university education could divest people more suited for these levels of training to the Universities.

Consequently there would be either a fall in the standard of University Education or else a large number of University dropouts with all its attendant social problems.

There is also the danger of over-emphasis on University Education, to the detriment of the development of other personal skills and initiations outside the Universities.

"Equality of access", "access on academic merit," "maintaining a high standard of university education" -- the balance between these is a very delicate one. I hope the Centralization policy and the Universities can strike this precarious medium.

A09

I have been involved with the development of the Petroleum Engineering curriculum at the University of Ibadan's faculty of technology.

It is my impression that University education in Nigeria is not

sufficiently directed towards fulfilment of any special national objective.

Yes, the increase comes from almost all parts of the country but particularly from Southern States of Nigeria.

The very huge government financial commitment to our universities and possible recognition of disparity in development between state and federal University facilities coupled with unfair advantages in staff recruitment.

--Lagging standards may also be a factor. No single event alone is most important. There must be central figure behind the policy. There were both combination and chains of events that led to federal control. Inability of the University to effectively govern themselves, unfair appointment practices are a few.

Possibly, yes, since the few number of universities offer few chances to very large number of qualified applicants.
All the three reasons collectively apply.

Effectiveness and efficiency are the overriding factors.

It is only the University of Nigeria at Nsukka and University of Ife at Ife-Ife that were politically motivated. Lagos to some extent was established on prestige basis since a Nigerian capital should not be only commercial.
Nsukka and Ife.

The Universities in my own opinion proved a woeful failure in all the listed areas. They produced purish or classical theoreticians and not any applied manpower group. In effect the universities did not tailor the programs towards fulfilment of national manpower needs in a practical sense.

I think the agency was generally effective at least in providing coordination between over Universities--the Nigerian Inter University Commission, the committee of Vice-Chancellors, the Council for Science and Technology, etc.

c, d -- yes; a, b, e, be improved.

Lack of true communication and collaboration between the Universities and/or their leadership.

I do not know if any of these really apply.

I am concerned that an attempt by the government to run the universities as the civil service may lead to still less productive institutions. They may in effect kill initiative, research and most dangerously of all--kill university freedom to teach without fear or favour.

It will probably push the administration to higher productivity and efficiency.

a) More research efforts may result if initiatives are not killed.

b) Teaching will be more effective but probably according to program

outline.

c) All management and policy will be more cautious.

This has to be tested yet. If it works like the NYSE it is bound to be beneficial to the community.

I do not know what attitude will develop. Behaviour pattern in Nigeria is very difficult to predict.

If properly coordinated, these should be a saving in effort and finances. Economic and cultural development will probably become stronger since efforts to maintain identity will lead to honest and constructive competition.

Can't guess effect on constitutional rights.

It will probably lead to a true Nigeria in academic, technological and economic sense.

a) National identity--a greater sense of belonging to one country may result.

b) Peace and harmony--may improve due to equitable distribution of resources.

c) Economic development--will result in all time high.

Centralized education policy whereby all universities benefit proportionately from a common fund.

--the federal government--will lead to National pride of belonging to one country. More honest contribution may be made towards further development of that common funds--economic growth and consequently happier Nigerians thinking less of armed overthrow of administering bodies.

A10

I am involved in the preparation of University entrants by teaching and examining through the state School Board and through the West African Examinations Council.

Much of an increase in demand for university education. The demand is general across the country. More institutions have been set up as a result.

The "Centralization Policy" in Nigeria was affected mainly by Political circumstances and their affiliated problems.

The Universities as they were before were tribalistic, regional and based on socioeconomic levels. The establishment of Policy breaks through the barriers of tribalism and makes it possible for the federal government to locate Universities in areas of the country which otherwise could not maintain one.

Effectiveness of the universities in relationship to the stated goals to me seems to be the most significant issue.

Rivalry between the different regions gave everything they did including the establishment of universities a political overtone. One could comfortably say that the universities were political.

To some good extent, the Universities provided some professional level manpower and the advancement of knowledge. Not much attention was given to technology-level manpower.

It was generally ineffective especially in coordinating programs. Duplication of courses done in the various universities could have been avoided if this body had been active.

The body was limited and cased in, by the legal authority accorded to it and by the nature of its membership.

None.

Centralization may promote standards, cut costs, promote coordination and encourage on broader levels.

Would not make much difference to individuals except for greater mobility. The social agencies and business enterprises would know where to look for their manpower needs.

The opportunity for employment especially on the lower cadre would no longer be restricted to people in the state of the Universities location.

Centralization to one does not seem to affect the state interests very directly.

Better coordination.
Specialized manpower.

All

Involved with the administration of secondary schools through the ministry of education. Universities draw students from these Secondary School. Involved in ensuring that high standard of education are maintained in the Schools.

Good: 1) Greater awareness and pursuit for University Education.
2) Numerical expansion, wider choice of courses and greater emphasis on local needs.
3) Better financial arrangement for students in form of loans and business bursaries.
4) Better development of graduates--used for fostering National unity-National Youth Services.
Bad: 1) Localise students.
2) Seems to stabilize the nation that once a graduate the government owes you employment.
3) Still looks down on Higher Technical Education.

- 1) Finance. At the end of the civil war, U.N.N. was financially down and the regional government could not cope with necessary reconstruction. Hence the Federal Government took over. Probably other states wanted it so to alleviate the financial burden.
- 2) Political. It happened to the Federal Government that Nigeria's past Frontles were hatched in the Universities. University Dons were considered more tribalistic than was healthy. Hence, in the name of Unity, Centralization would remove the possibility of a Professor being accepted only in his own state. Students would be free to apply and study any where in the country.
- 3) Curriculum: To be able to direct University Education to the needs of the country, and avoid duplication. If one were to talk of a single event or cause for the change, it is political, which in turn brings in others.

I would say yes to this question, because the number of Universities established in the Northern Part of the country at the moment confirms this. I think we have same number in North as in South--and this appears to be an attempt to correct the educational imbalance between North and South.

- 1) Equality of access, 2) Reduction of duplication, 3) Improved effectiveness, 4) Responsiveness to demand, 5) Efficient use of facilities.

Efficiency can be considered on the national level not in individual universities, and as such the universities can only be considered efficient when they avoid duplication, as responsive to demands and are effective.

Political patronage was a major factor. Ife Nsukka and Ahamadu Bello came into being because of rivalry between A.G., N.C.N.C. and N.P.C. and the respective staff and students seemed to affiliate to a large extent otherwise they would be accused of biting the finger that fed them.

At the end of the civil war, surprisingly enough some University Professors from other universities called for the closure of Nsukka, as a reprisal to the part of the country where it is situated.

Professional level--yes

Technology--level manpower--no, because some of the Universities were not technically oriented.

Advancement of knowledge--Only very few benefited.

Social needs--Only to a limited extent.

The Ashby Report was not ineffective. The recommendations were a long term proposal and till now the recommendations are being implemented, hence the establishment of more universities since 1970. Part because of mounting political interference in Universities administration the N.U.C. was not very effective in the areas enunciated.

I am not very familiar with this area but I think that the resistance of state governments was largely responsible, then, the resistance of the Universities, and the nature of membership.

University entry requirements will be uniform and consequently standards in secondary school throughout the country will be uniform.

There will be greater cooperation in research and areas of specialization. A drama similar to Njoku Obis Cholera vaccine may not be repeated, because any university operates on the national level, not state and its achievement is a national not tribal achievement.

However, it would be better to allow some flexibility in matters of administration, faculty policy, and external financial support for certain programmes.

If all monetary matters pass through federal government, it will retard research.

Individual: may improve his outlook, from being parochial to national. May rely on his ability rather than political affiliation. True Scholarship may emerge.

Social Agencies--can cooperate with universities and delimit their needs i.e. make recommendation to N.U.C. about the type of manpower required.

Business Enterprise--will also have a say in the type of manpower required.

Assuming that culture is enriched when it comes in contact with other cultures, people from different ethnic group will come to understand each other. No state will rush into establishing a University at all costs, but rather will turn attention and resources to other areas of development.

I don't think that it affects any state constitutionally if the permission to establish a university removed.

It will promote unity, understanding and national consciousness. It will take over the service intended to be rendered by the national youth service--overseas. In the absence of redundant services, duplication and uniform financial policy, there will be room for more development.

A12

Minimal: largely through the faculty of board of my faculty--may also influence administration through participation in other boards/committees, etc.

University administration staff very rarely interact of guess the two arms are comparable to the legislative/executive arms of the government.

--Need to be more specific here.

--You have sensitized me to a particular pressure area.

Increase in demand--Yes.

--Largely from the Northern group of states. Remember, distribution of University in the past was unbalanced geographically.

--Must remember demand is reflective of Nigerian Political development.

Creation of states--demand for skilled labour--Preserves University to produce Personnel. Our nation is very competitive.

- Growing demand for University education in general. The imbalance in benefactors in the past from University education. Geographical areas.
 - --Uncontrolled development in establishing University.
 - Imbalance in financial status of the University.
 - Increase costs to the federal government and corresponding decrease costs to states.
 - Social Pressure for equal educational opportunities.
 - Need to balance and lessen competition re: Academic staff.
 - No one factor accounts adequately for no one interest group can claim responsibility.
- I am not sure I can rank relative importance of these factors. You have to think of other exigencies of the time the decision was taken. The time factor is critical.

Yes--but consider your geographical factor as the single most important factor. It's a well known fact that among Yoruba tribe in Kwana State, the Offa Yorubas have greater number of educated group. The imbalance in one geographical area among one tribe is reflected in the imbalance in scholarship distribution (an inverse in relm) today.

Very significant.

Not significant.

Somewhat significant.

Significant.

Think you should split this period into 2 Pre- and Post-civil war periods. Before 1967 University location was primarily a political decision. Post-war Period, some of those harsh realities which caused the nation to rock to peril was brought to light. Location, now can no longer be said to be solely a political decision. Consideration of even development in the country is an important factor.

If the University had any freedom (semi freedom) it was in the choice of what they teacher, what kinds of graduates they produce, etc. The nature of administrative control seems to me to be limited to how many students are enrolled or graduated/session.

Your area of concern here do not seem to me to be dependent on the structure of university administration.

My knowledge of N.U.C. is very limited. The impact of the commission was through the vice chancellors and heads of departments. You know, as well as I know, that by the time decisions taken by such commission filter through V.C.'s and heads, the latter pose (godly) as if the decisions are irrevocably theirs.

The absence of direct limitage to staff and students of the university.

I can't say for certain because the policy is not fully implemented.

Foresee both detrimental and positive effects. Possibly, Univ.'s will become sterilized by uniformity. Can't see how academic, professional etc. triumph can emerge from a central authority. On the other hand, it is a good Political move re: Unity of Nigeria.

Cannot be guaranteed unless through budgeting control of Alberta Government.

Will remove state interest from University and almost entirely.

--may be fostered to a greater extent.

--may be fostered through co-existence and conscious development of trust.

--No guarantee.

A13

I am the Acting Head of my department. I am also a member of the University Senate, member of Senate Committee on Curriculum Development, Member of Senior Staff Appraisals Committee, Member Faculty Board of Business Administration, Member Faculty Selection Committee, Chairman of the Board of Department of Accountancy, Staff Advisor to Accountancy Students, etc.

Yes. The demand is increasing in geometric progression.

All over the country. But it is spectacular in the former East Central State where students suffered three years set-back as a result of the civil war.

New Universities and new campuses of older ones are springing up fast.

Effects are being made to accommodate it by way of utilizing available facilities to full capacity and embarking on large scale off-campus accommodation for both staff and students.

New buildings for hostels, classrooms and offices are being put up--at times on make-shift basis.

No.

No.

Yes-eg. Social and economic development of Nigeria, need for Federal Government funding, coordinator manpower training at expanded rate, desire to build new universities, etc.

No. For some of the reasons in (3) above.

Not significant.

May have some significance.

Very significant.

Not significant.

Political patronage was a major factor in the location and administration of Nigerian Universities from 1960 to 1975.

Eg.

1) University of Nigeria was owned and administered by the then Eastern Nigeria Government and it was located in its area.

2) University of Ife was to Western Nigeria Government what UNN was to Eastern Nigeria Government. It was also located in the West.

3) Ahmadu Bello University Zaria was seen in the same light as UNN and Ife. It was for the former Northern Nigeria Governments.

4) Ibadan and Lafes Universities were controlled and managed by the Federal Government.

5) Staffing and admissions in these Universities reflected, to some extent, the ownership, location and administration of the Universities.

Very well.

Very well.

Very well.

Very well.

Generally effective.

Generally effective.

Generally effective.

Not generally effective.

NUC was generally effective.

Coordination of accounting education in Nigeria. Formation of Accounting Teachers Association and the National Association of Students in Accountancy.

It will encourage research more than ever before.

It may not influence this.

It will increase the financial resources of and support for the universities.

Every University will tend to do what others are doing and therefore will tend to do what others are doing and therefore will mount post-graduate programs, evening degree programs, extra-mural programs, correspondence courses, run short courses, organize seminars and symposia to help individuals, social agencies and business organizations.

It will not trample on these rights. Rather it will facilitate the earlier realization of these developmental goals through encouragement given to expanded research and manpower training and retraining.

It will increase our national identity and consciousness by making up fairly self-sufficient in terms of manpower development, research, commercial and industrial development, etc.

A14

None.

Lack of practical content in some of the Engineering courses. University graduates in Nigeria tend to feel that the country owes them a living. Perhaps not enough stress is given to the social responsibility that goes with the privilege of a university education in Nigerian universities.

Yes.

Every part.

Facilities are now being expanded.
New Universities are being established.

Increased dependence of Universities on Federal funding. A desire to establish an advanced educational policy geared to the manpower needs of the country.

No.

No.

Yes (as outlined above).

Yes.

No.

Yes.

Yes.

Unimportant.

Important.

Fairly important.

Unimportant.

Very important.

Nsuka, Ife and Ahmadu Bello universities were borne out of political patronage.

Poor.

Fair.

Poor.

Poor.

No idea.

No idea.

Not applicable.

Beneficial.

Beneficial.

Very beneficial.

The community should benefit at large from an efficient university system which the centralization policy may bring about.

None.

Favourably.

Favourably.

Positively.

A15

Designing of degree programmes. Admission of students. Teaching and administration in the faculty.

Increasing emphasis on degrees in Science and Technology as against those in Arts and Social Sciences.

Yes

The increased demand is widespread but more from the Southern States. The call for increased facilities to facilitate increased admission is justified.

No facilities have been remarkably enlarged.

The army rule in Nigeria is crucial but the increasing dependence of the Universities on Federal subvention seems to have had the greatest influence.

Not exactly on single event. I am not quite aware of any central figures behind the policy but ethnic loyalties may have been of some moment. Ethnic loyalties such as led to the University of Lagos crisis (1965) and the post-war dependence on Federal subvention played significant parts.

Yes

(a) and (c).

Universities were not responsive to public demands due to lack of facilities and ethnic loyalties. This influenced the establishment of the policy of 'centralization' of the universities. It is significant.

As in (a) above.

Significant.

Significant.

To a large extent it was a major factor.

The University of Lagos crisis of 1965 in which a Vice-Chancellor was changed because of political/tribal patronage.

Promotion of indigenes was often influenced by their political/tribal backgrounds. This was particularly true of the University of Lagos after the 1965 crisis.

Not quite able.

Not very effective.

Not able even now.

This objective was partially being realized.

Was not very effective before the centralized control.

Not very effective.

Not very effective.

Tried without much success.

Not very effective.

No

Yes

Yes.
Yes.
No.

Lack of facilities - space and teaching equipment. There seems to be a "rumor" that University staff may in future be subject to compulsory transfer from one institution to another. This could lead to massive exodus of staff of universities.

The physical/biological sciences are favoured.
Independence may be de-emphasized.
This is expected to be greatly improved.

(a) Will try to emphasize national as against local loyalties.
(b) As in (a) above.
(c) Will provide public enlightenment that should lead to better business practice for overall national good.

(a) The state will derive enhanced opportunities to benefit from national institutions.
(b) Infrastructural improvement will be better spread.
(c) Increased opportunity for the evolution of a national image.

It is expected this will in the long run develop in individuals loyalty to, and pride in, the nation before the ethnic group.

Comments:

The policy of centralized control of University has not actually taken root. It is, therefore, not easy at this stage to make very categorical expressions about its implementation and effect on our society. It is, however, hoped the policy will help to make Nigeria one country as against the "many-countries-in-one" that had been the case.

A16

Very great.
10 years as Adviser to the National Universities Commission.
Now Chief Planning Officer at Ibadan.

Determination of quality.
Yes.
Eastern states.
Strong.
Creation of seven universities.

1. Lack of state finances.
2. Tribal difficulties in some institutions.
3. Inbalance in educational facilities.

No.
No.
See above.

Yes.
More psychological than real.

Nil.
Nil.
Very much so.
Very much so.

No.

Poor.
Fair.
Fair.
Good.

Yes.
Yes.
Yes.
Not too effective.
Yes.

Originally, not now.
No.
No.
No.
No.

None really - Ibadan has already been Federal. However, new Universities are very much limited to their resources.

Improvement.
No effect.
Deterioration.

No effect that I can see.

No effect.

Very little actually in fact.

APPENDIX C
(Questionnaire Instrument)

THE QUESTIONNAIRE INSTRUMENT

Please complete before proceeding.

Indicate the State and the level with which you identify primarily and hence will use as your reference in completing this questionnaire.

CIRCLE ONE ONLY

A. STATE

- 1 Benue--Plateau
- 2 East--Central
- 3 Kano
- 4 Kwara
- 5 Lagos
- 6 Mid-West
- 7 North-Western
- 8 North-Central
- 9 North-Eastern
- 10 Rivers
- 11 South-Eastern
- 12 Western

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

B. LEVEL OR REFERENCE

- 1 Government
- 2 National Universities Commission
- 3 University

C. POSITION

(Provide any further clarification that helps to define your position. Circle more than one if applicable).

- 1 Former member of National Universities Commission
- 2 Present member of National Universities Commission
- 3 University administration
- 4 Faculty member
- 5 Government official (education)
- 6 Government official (finance)
- 7 Others (please specify).

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

PART 1

Factors Contributing to the New Centralization Policy. Since 1960, the Federal government's involvement in Nigerian University Education has been on the increase. This federal involvement is climaxed by its recent policy to take over all university administration and coordination in the country.

1.1 Indicate to what extent you feel each of these factors contributed to these changes as they apply in your state. CIRCLE YOUR CHOICE.

	None	<u>Major Extent</u>		
1. Greater dependence of Universities upon government funds due to increase in costs and demands	1	2	3	4 5
2. Increased pressure from the general public for more effective and efficient use of resources by universities	1	2	3	4 5
3. The need for clarification of the role of universities in national development	1	2	3	4 5
4. Demands from the universities for a more rationally coordinated approach with longer range budget commitments	1	2	3	4 5
5. Political rivalry among state politicians to control universities within their states	1	2	3	4 5
6. Recognition of the role of universities in the social and economic development of new nations	1	2	3	4 5
7. To correct inequalities in higher education opportunity as between North and South	1	2	3	4 5
8. Recognition of inequality in the relationship between the number of students from a given area and the monetary support provided the university by that area	1	2	3	4 5
9. Lack of basic agreement between Federal and Local organizations regarding finance and the needs of the universities	1	2	3	4 5

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10. | Difficulties due to a lack of coordination and cooperation among university institutions | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 11. | Failure of state and federal universities to achieve cooperation and coordination through voluntary means | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 12. | Recognition of the need for a mechanism to control escalating costs, proliferation of programs and services | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 13. | Desire of the Lagos Authorities to nationally coordinate University education in Nigeria for purposes of manpower training and national integration | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 14. | Other (Please specify and assess in the same way) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

1.2 Which of the above items in your opinion had the greatest impact? CIRCLE ONE.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 1 12 13 14

PART II

On the following pages are listed a number of issues of importance and operational problems in relation to university education in Nigeria. The issues have been identified from documents and preliminary discussion held with key personnel.

- 2.1 In column 1, providing a rating of the extent of the problem facing administration in your university with respect to each item prior to centralization. CIRCLE YOUR CHOICE

Key: Column 11

- 1 Considerable deterioration
- 2 Some deterioration
- 3 No change
- 4 Some improvement
- 5 Great improvement

	COLUMN I					COLUMN II				
	Extent of problem prior to Legislation					Perceived effect of Legislation				
	No Problem					Great Problem				
1. Problems stemming from tribal, political antagonism and power struggle among groups with different tribal and political backgrounds	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
2. Excessive controls enforced by those providing the financial support, particularly the Federal, State and External Aid Agencies	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
3. Problems involved in securing funding for research and initiation of new programs	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
4. Problems of communication between the University subsystems, federal and state ministries of education and the Nigerian community	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
5. Problem of lack of agreement between administrators/academics and politicians which frequently leads to a stalemate in action	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5

6. Conditions which allow a disproportionate university access to some students on the basis of tribal, political, or socioeconomic backgrounds	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
7. Administration problems arising because of the attempt to control a tribal minority faction among faculty members.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
8. Problem of delicate situation and difficulties to maintain balance in the location of universities.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
9. Problems created by poor planning due to inexperience and lack of institutional sophistication.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
10. Financial problems which are exaggerated by rapid rate of development.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
11. Difficulty in agreement as to the appropriate philosophy and objectives as the universities evolve.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
12. Difficulties created by the conservative institutions not being responsive to the needs of the developing country.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
13. Problems created by trained and educated personnel being syphoned off to governmental posts.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
14. Difficulties of quality and continuity resulting from expatriate staff being hired for too brief period of time.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
15. Issue of framework for the provision of a broader based program of instruction as opposed to a narrow, more specialized program of instruction as now found across departments of the country's universities.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5

16. Provision of Nigerian texts and curriculum more relevant to the indigenous society. 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5
17. Deficiencies in the academic standing of entering students. 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5
18. Problems of consensus on the role of the university in providing technological training which would serve the nation's middle level manpower needs. 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5
19. Issue of providing community services. 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5
20. Other (Please specify and assess in the same way). 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5

APPENDIX D

(Correspondence concerning Interview
Arrangements)

To: Government, Agency and Institution Officials Representing The Higher Education Community of Nigeria

Theo Azuka Ume,
Dept. of Educational Admin.,
University of Alberta,
Edmonton, Alberta T6G 2M7
Canada.

March 18, 1976.

Dear Sir,

I am in the doctoral program at the University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada. My major is in the area of higher education.

My thesis committee has approved a proposal to conduct a study entitled "Centralization of University Education in Nigeria: Environmental Analysis." Since you are closely associated with university administration and coordination, your perspectives are most valid and your willingness to assist in specifying the issues in the new policy will be appreciated.

It is of the utmost importance to me that my dissertation materials be authentic and factual as identified by individuals who are directly involved with the university programs. I would like the result of this study to be of value after completion, and therefore, useful to the institutions concerned.

Would you be kind enough to grant me an interview in order to discuss the afore-mentioned topic. A summary of the interview result will be mailed to you upon completion. No names will be used--only the information regarding the issues will be compiled.

If you are willing to be interviewed would you please mail the enclosed card to my colleague:

Mr. R. O. Nwabueze,
Dept. of Economics,
University of Nigeria,
Nsukka, Nigeria.

If your schedule is too tight to accomodate a face to face interview an interview record is enclosed for you to complete at your convenience. A self addressed envelope

is also enclosed to facilitate the return of the completed record.

Your early response would therefore be greatly appreciated so that the study may be completed on schedule.

Yours sincerely,

T. A. Ume

APPENDIX E

(Correspondence concerning Questionnaire
Data Collection)

Theo Azuka Ume
Dept. of Educational Admin.
University of Alberta,
Edmonton, Alberta T6G 2M7
Canada

March 18, 1976

Dear

I am a doctoral student at the University of Alberta, Canada. My field of specialization is higher education and I am particularly interested in the coordination of higher education systems in Nigeria.

My thesis committee has approved a proposal to conduct a study entitled "Centralization of University Coordination in Nigeria: Environmental Analysis." Since you are closely associated with higher education in Nigeria, your perspectives are most valid and your willingness to assist in specifying the issues in the new policy will be appreciated.

As the present chairman of this department your assistance is now being sought in this most important phase of data gathering --the completion of a questionnaire. All data gathered by this questionnaire are regarded as confidential and anonymity is assured. Data will be used only in the aggregate form and no attempt will be made to identify your responses with you.

Your responses in combination with others is viewed as a most essential part of this study and, to a large degree, will determine how useful it is in helping to bring about a better understanding of the higher education enterprise in Nigeria.

Your early response will therefore be greatly appreciated. A self addressed envelope is herein enclosed to facilitate your prompt action.

Yours sincerely,

Theo A. Ume

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN, IBADAN, NIGERIA

Vice-Chancellor:

TEKENA N. TAMUNO, B.A., Ph.D. (Lond.)



Telephone: Ibadan 23248 (Direct line)

62550-62579 (30 Lines) Ext. 1348

Cables and Telegrams: University Ibadan

Telex: Campus 31128 NG

Ref. VC/GM.10

11 June, 1976

Mr. Theo. Azuka Ume,
Department of Educational Administration,
University of Alberta,
Edmonton,
Alberta T6C 2M7,
Canada.

Dear Mr. Ume,

I refer to your circular letter of 20 March, 1976
addressed to the Vice-Chancellor and return herewith your
questionnaire instrument duly completed by our Chief Personnel
Officer.

Yours sincerely,


S.A. KakuluSenior Assistant Registrar
(Vice-Chancellor's Office)SAK/002Enc.



UNIVERSITY OF BENIN
BENIN CITY NIGERIA

Vice-Chancellor's Office

P. M. B. 1154
Telephone 343/20
Telegrams UNIBEN BENIN

Ref: REG.218/Vol.IV/64

4th May, 1976

Theo A. Ume,
Department of Educational Administration,
Faculty of Education,
University of Alberta,
Edmonton, Alberta,
U.S.A.

Questionnaire Instrument

I return herewith your Questionnaire Instrument
duly completed as requested.

I hope the answers provided will be of considerable
help to you in your dissertation.

With best wishes for success in your studies.


Dickson I. Amagada,
for Registrar.

B30179